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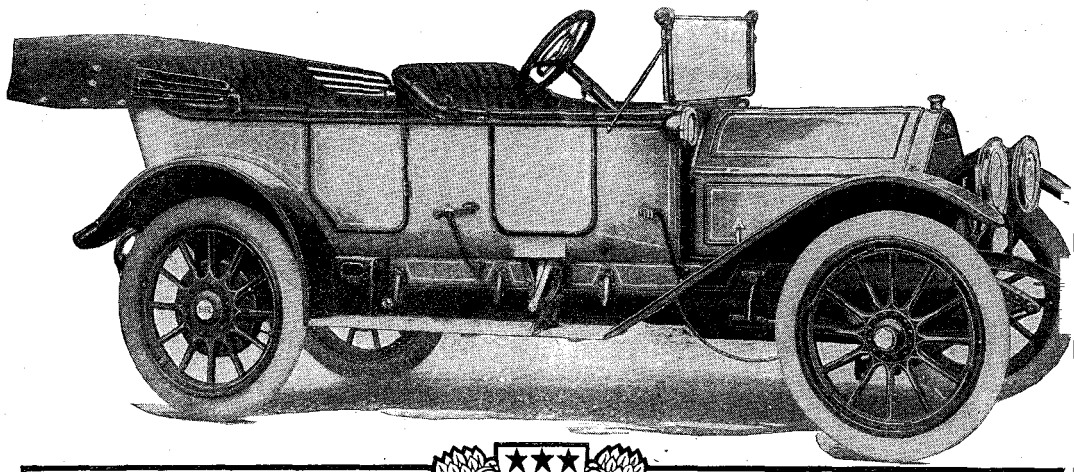

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The Outlook

MARCH 9, 1912

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
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THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

An incident of the political campaign last week was the impressive announcement that nine Republican Governors had indorsed Mr. Taft for the Republican nomination. They were Governor Eberhart of Minnesota, Governor Carroll of Iowa, Governor Hay of Washington, Governor Goldsborough of Maryland, Governor Tener of Pennsylvania, Governor Hooper of Tennessee, Governor Spry of Utah, Governor Pennewill of Delaware, and Governor Pothier of Rhode Island. The importance of this announcement is probably supposed to lie in the fact that only eight Governors have made public their indorsement of Mr. Roosevelt for the nomination, seven of them having signed the letter asking him to agree to accept the nomination if offered, and Governor Johnson of California having announced his support after Mr. La Follette's practical retirement. One chief executive, Governor McGovern of Wisconsin, is still committed to the candidacy of Mr. La Follette, and there are three or four other Republican Governors in the country who have not yet announced publicly their adherence to either candidate. The country is doubtless waiting with bated breath to know on which side these silent Governors will finally line up, or would be so waiting if the important question of the nomination were to be determined by the results of a poll of Governors. But of course such a poll has only a passing interest, and the Governor incident may now be considered as closed. The seven Governors who wrote to Mr. Roosevelt have secured what they want, an announcement that he will accept if nominated. The Taft managers have secured what they want, more Governors than have grouped themselves about the Roosevelt standard. The interest now transfers itself to the choice of delegates. During February sixty-four delegates were elected to the Republican National Convention. Sixty of these were instructed to support Mr. Taft, and the other four had before their selection given written pledges to support him. In many of the States, however, in which these delegates were elected there will be contesting delegations. During March one hundred and ninety delegates are to be selected. The great majority of the delegates already elected come from Southern States where there is no real Republican party and where there is not the remotest possiblity of a single electoral vote for a Republican candidate. In connection with the selection of delegates in these and other States, United States Senator Dixon, of Montana, who has been selected as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the National Roosevelt Committee, made a statement in which he said:

> The only hope left to those Republicans who are opposing the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt is to control, through the prostitution of Federal patronage in the Democratic States of the South, where no Republican electoral vote is possible, the delegates from those States, together with delegates from some States east of the Alleghany Mountains, where delegates to the National Convention are named in conventions largely controlled by political bosses. . . . Never in the history of American politics has a more flagrant prostitution of the power of Federal patronage been witnessed than when recently in a certain Southern State a batch of ten Federal offices was put up at auction for future delivery to the highest bidder in delegates to the Republican National Convention. The open acknowledgment that political patronage has been and is being withheld from duly elected and accredited Republican Senators and Representatives in Congress, who would not pledge personal allegiance to the nomination of a Presidential candidate, has caused thoughtful men to inquire whether bribery by the direct use of money is any less reprehensible than bribery by appointment to office.

The mere statement of such methods carries with it their condemnation. And against the use of such methods there is one sure defense. In six States of the Union the

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party voters will vote directly at a Presidential primary for their choice for the Presidential nomination. In those States the use of no amount of patronage, the activities of no number of office-holders, will be of more than the smallest avail to influence the result. The delegates from those States will vote in the National Convention for the candidate whom the people really want. There is time and opportunity to extend the system of Presidential primaries to many other States. No one who is willing to trust the people's choice of a Presidential candidate will oppose the movement to so extend the primaries.

LEGALISM OR JUSTICE?

In his address before the Massachusetts Legislature last week Mr. Roosevelt repeated and made still clearer his assertion in the Columbus speech that in proposing to give the people in the last resort the power to interpret the Constitution the aim was not to provide a substitute for representative government, but to correct it if it becomes misrepresentative. And he quoted, as a definition of what is needed to secure social and industrial justice, Mazzini's dictum: "No war of classes, no hostility to existing wealth, no wanton or unjust violation of the rights of property, but a constant disposition to ameliorate the condition of the classes least favored by fortune." As to the so-called recall of decisions, Mr. Roosevelt said: "My position is simple. It is that if the people know enough to make the Constitution they know enough in the last resort to say what it was that they meant when they made it. In the last resort the people, after due deliberation, are to be and must be the masters, and their representatives their servants." But perhaps the strongest and most emphatic statement of his purpose was when he said: "I am not advocating the recall of judges, I am advocating a measure which, if adopted, will prevent the necessity of the recall of judges. I am not advocating the recall of the judge; I am advocating the recall of legalism to justice." There was particular forcefulness in this address before a Massachusetts legislative body in the quotation from a decision by Justice Holmes as to the extent of the police power in aid of "what is sanctioned by usage, or held by the prevailing morality, or by a strong and preponderant opinion, to be greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare." It is in line with this judicial opinion that Mr. Roosevelt advocated giving the people of the several States the right to put that opinion into practical effect as part of the law of the State, but only "if the State Court declines to follow the example of the Supreme Court in that matter, declines to adhere to the doctrine thus laid down by Justice Holmes, a doctrine which is now part of the law of the Nation." The particular method of bringing this about did not disturb Mr. Roosevelt—"I am not wedded to any method; I *am* wedded to the purpose that I uphold." Throughout, the Massachusetts address was based on the right, justice, and necessity of the people's rule, a theme dealt with also in Mr. Roosevelt's editorial in The Outlook this week.

REVISING THE OHIO CONSTITUTION

Mr. Roosevelt's address before the Convention for the revision of the Constitution of Ohio at Columbus has directed attention to the important work there being done. The Convention has now been in session seven or eight weeks. It consists of 119 members, chosen from the districts which send Representatives to the lower house of the Legislature. Its President is the Rev. Herbert Bigelow, of Cincinnati, and its Vice-President is President Samuel D. Fess, of Antioch College. The members of the Convention were chosen under a special act of the Legislature, which required nomination to be made by petition and forbade partisan nominations. The result appears to be an assembly of exceptional strength; intelligent observers declare that it is distinctly superior to any Legislature which has lately been seen in Columbus. The debates have been, as a rule, intelligent and vigorous, and no symptoms of graft have been discovered, though the liquor interest appears to have a compact body of retainers. The question is not yet determined whether an entirely new draft of an organic law shall be submitted to the voters or whether the Convention will content itself with sending down a number of separate amendments to the existing Constitution. Thus far only two proposals have been accepted by the Convention—one making the agreement of nine jurymen sufficient for a verdict in civil cases; the other authorizing the issuing of State bonds, as needed, up to fifty millions of dollars, for the improvement of roads. Important matters now pending are the provisions for direct legislation, for the regulation of the liquor traffic, for equal suffrage,

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for home rule for cities, and for the short ballot. The burning question is the liquor question. The present Constitution forbids the granting of licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors. It was framed in 1851 and was probably intended to have prohibitory force. Under the ruling of the courts, however, the only effect has been to prevent such regulation as license usually secures. A State tax has been imposed on saloons, and this practically operated as a license, since all persons paying the annual tax were unmolested by the officers of the law. The tax has, however, been made heavy enough to prevent men of small capital from entering the business unless subsidized by the brewers. And the local option laws, applying at first to towns, municipalities, and residence districts, and recently extended to counties, have resulted in making a good share of the State dry territory. Several proposals are now before the Convention, some of them granting unrestricted license, some restricted license, and some restricted prohibition. It appears probable that the local option features will be retained and that restricted license will be authorized for the territory in which the sale is not prohibited.

OTHER PROVISIONS

Next in importance to the liquor question in the Ohio Convention is the question of direct legislation. Many of the delegates, perhaps a majority, were elected under pledges to vote for this measure, but considerable opposition to it has been developed, and the delegates are finding it difficult to agree upon the form of the measure. Governor Harmon in a speech before the Convention declined to give his approval to the initiative and referendum as applied to State legislation; Mr. Roosevelt quite strongly commends it, though preferring the modified form which has been introduced in Wisconsin. It seems probable now that the modified form will be adopted in Ohio. There seems to be little doubt that the amendment granting the suffrage to women will be submitted to the people; the Suffrage Committee, by a vote of sixteen to one, has recommended this amendment. No doubt it will be submitted separately, as will also the liquor question. The agitation of the suffrage question has stirred up the women of Ohio, and there is a lively controversy; organizations of suffragists and anti-suffragists are being formed in various parts of the State. What the prospects are for the short ballot it is not now easy to predict, but the sentiment of the Convention seems to be in favor of it. The same thing is true of home rule for cities. A convention of municipal officers from all parts of the State has been held in Columbus since the Constitutional Convention began its sessions, and the verdict of that body in favor of home rule was emphatic. The proposition is that the Constitution shall authorize the Legislature to provide an enabling act, under which cities may frame their own charters and manage their own municipal housekeeping, subject to certain general directions and restrictions as to taxation, accounting, and the like. There seems to be a strong demand for a larger measure of municipal autonomy. It is evident that the Ohio Convention has a large task upon its hands. Nearly two hundred different proposals are now before it. Some winnowing will be required to get rid of the chaff. It is to be hoped that the reforms of real importance may be submitted in such a way as to secure the approval of the voters.

DIRECT LEGISLATION NOT UNCONSTITUTIONAL

The United States Supreme Court has prevented an attempt to have the initiative and referendum in Oregon declared unconstitutional. The Court dismissed the case brought before it, not on the ground that these methods of direct legislation were not in violation of the Constitution, but on the ground that the Court had no jurisdiction in the case as presented. The constitutionality of the provision in the Oregon State Constitution establishing the initiative and referendum was assailed on the ground that it operated to deprive the State of the republican form of government which the Constitution of the United States guarantees to every State. The Court declared that this contention, if held to be sound, would affect the validity not only of the particular statute in question but of every other statute passed in Oregon since the adoption of the initiative and referendum, and, indeed, of every governmental function, legislative or judicial, in the State. For it cannot be assumed, the Court declared, that there is at one and the same time in the State one and the same government which is both republican in form and not republican in form. If the Supreme Court could be assumed to have the authority so to destroy a State Government, by declaring that some statute enacted by it deprives it of the republican

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form of government, the Court must be assumed also to have the power to build upon the ruins of the previously established government a new one. This right, by its very terms, would also imply the power to control the legislative department of the United States Government in the recognition of such government and the admission of its representatives. For such an assumption the Court declares there is not the shadow of a ground. The question whether a State has a republican form of government or not is a purely political question, which it is the function of Congress to determine and not the function of the courts. When Congress admits to its membership the Senators and Representatives elected from a State, it exercises its prerogative of declaring that the State has a republican form of government. Of this prerogative the courts cannot deprive the National Legislature. From this decision of the Court it appears that, unless Congress should commit itself to the unthinkable proposition that a State which decides to supplement its legislative processes by the process of direct legislation shall not be represented in Congress, there is no obstacle to the adoption of the initiative and referendum by any State in the Union.

A MILLION MEN ON STRIKE

The coal strike which began in England, Scotland, and Wales as the clocks struck twelve on the night before the 1st of March brings Great Britain, if we are to take literally the words of the Premier, "face to face with a warfare which will paralyze all the other industries of the country." A million men are affected directly; half a million in allied trades will be indirectly deprived of work; how far sympathetic strikes will extend it is impossible to predict. It is said that the miners' unions are well provided with funds, and will fight to the end. The most important economic question involved—one that is also of increasing importance in America—is that of the minimum wage. The principle is easier of application in Great Britain than here because of our dual (State and National) form of government, but, as The Outlook has already stated, laws embodying the principle are now before the Legislatures of Massachusetts and other States. Mr. Asquith made a speech at the Miners' Federation the night before the strike in which he declared that the Government was determined that the minimum wage should become part and parcel of the organized working of the coal industry by whatever appropriate means the Government could command. Concord and justice, he said, demand the establishment of the minimum wage, and the Government did not intend that the resistance of a minority of the mine-owners to this principle should delay settlement of the strike. Of course such a law should and must have safeguards against obstinacy as to rates by either operators or miners, and must provide a just way of fixing the minimum. In case of a failure to settle the strike by the proposed legislation, it has been more than hinted that the Government might itself take hold of the mines and run them temporarily—first, because the naval demands for coal must be met, and, secondly, to quote Mr. Asquith again, because coal-mining is the life-blood of the country's industries. In the meantime, railway service has been at once curtailed, many employees not on strike have been discharged, and a bitter war of words has sprung up between the leaders on both sides over the question as to which side is to blame for the failure of the negotiations before the Board of Trade. The situation is so tremendously dangerous that out of that very fact may come a quick settlement in desperation of what otherwise may be the hugest industrial war of modern times.

LABOR UNREST IN OUR COAL MINES

A serious situation is confronting our coal-consuming public, and this means the people of the entire country. In the bituminous coal States the operators and mine-workers have failed to reach an understanding as to the continuance of the trade agreement which has maintained peaceful relations between them and has brought so much prosperity and stability to that industry in the more important of the twenty-eight coal-producing States. The demands of the mine employees, made through their union, the United Mine Workers of America, upon the operators in the recent joint conference which crystallized in a demand for a ten per cent increase in wages, have been rejected. In fact, the employers have made a counter-demand for a reduction of ten per cent in wages. The joint conference has adjourned in a deadlock, with no renewal of the trade agreement. There is a possibility that before April 1 both parties may be able

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to agree. An even greater degree of uncertainty as to labor conditions exists in the anthracite industry. Conferences between operators and miners are being held with the view of reaching an understanding before April 1, when the present agreement as to wages and terms of employment expires. This agreement was entered into three years ago, and its terms are virtually those of the award of the Anthracite Strike Commission of 1903. Last week the miners' demands were presented in New York to the representatives of seven great mine-operating companies, and adjournment was taken for a week while the operators considered the demands. The chief demands were that the new contract should be for one year, instead of three, as before; an eight-hour working day for all employees; an all-around advance of twenty per cent in wages; the recognition of the United Mine Workers in negotiations; and the implied abandonment of the present Board of Conciliation. The mine-owners, it is said, will not admit that the increased cost of living justifies a twenty per cent advance in wages, and hold that the present working of the Conciliation Board is fair and satisfactory. Whether the grievances and conditions of employment are such as to precipitate a strike at this time is a matter that will definitely be decided by the mine employees themselves in a convention to be called later in case of the refusal of their demands by the railway presidents. But the fact remains that there is deep discontent in both the anthracite and bituminous coal mines of the country, an industry employing more than six hundred thousand mine-workers, three hundred thousand of whom are organized in one of the strongest industrial unions of the country.

NEW YORK'S SUBWAY PROBLEM: A NEW OFFER

Work is already under way on several sections of a new subway for New York City. But it still remains to be decided how the new subway shall be operated. Last August, after a long and tedious series of conferences and negotiations, the Interborough Company, which operates the existing Subway, finally refused to meet the conditions set up by the officials of the city and eliminated itself from further consideration. During the past few weeks, however, the negotiations have been begun again, and now the Interborough Company has made a definite proposal to the city, the terms of which are very much more favorable than those which the Company had six months ago insisted upon as being final. There are indications that the Board of Estimate and Apportionment and the Public Service Commission are inclined to accept the Interborough's proposal. The Interborough's plan contemplates the completion of what is known as the H system of subways, by the extension of the present Subway on the East Side up Lexington Avenue and out through the Bronx, and on the West Side down Seventh Avenue to the Battery. It also includes the building of new lines into Brooklyn and Queens County and the third-tracking of the elevated lines in Manhattan and the Bronx. According to the provisions of the contract proposed by the Interborough the city is to provide fifty-six million dollars for construction and the Interborough seventy-seven million dollars for construction and equipment. The lease of the entire system, when the new lines are completed, is to be for forty-nine years, which will cut down the lease of the present Subway by about eighteen years. The Interborough is to be guaranteed, from the receipts of the enlarged system, the rate of profit—amounting to over 14 per cent—which it has been making on its present capitalization for the last two years and 6 per cent on the money which it will now put in, so that it will be guaranteed on its enlarged capital of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars an average profit of 8.76 per cent. After operating expenses and this guaranteed profit have been paid from the receipts of the new subway, the city will receive the same rate on its investment of fifty-six million dollars, and thereafter the net profits, if any, will be divided equally between the company and the city. This is a smaller guarantee than the Interborough insisted upon six months ago, the difference meaning an advantage to the city of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year. The Interborough agrees to operate any extensions which the city may decide to build in the future at a six per cent profit on the money required for equipment. It further proposes that the city may have the right at any time within ten years after the beginning of the lease to take over either the East Side subway or the West Side subway for municipal operations. In other smaller particulars the offer, as we understand its provisions, is also more favorable to the city.

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ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE OFFER

There are certain decided advantages which would result from the acceptance of the Interborough's offer. It would multiply almost by three the number of miles of subway track now in operation. It would give a through East Side subway and a through West Side subway, either of which might be taken over by the city after ten years have elapsed, if private operation shall not prove beneficial to the city's interest. It would give a single unified system, serving four boroughs, with a single five-cent fare for rides on any part of it. It would insure to the city great powers of regulation and supervision over the operation of the system. One main objection is made to the acceptance of the offer. It would guarantee to the Interborough Company for another half-century the profits which it is now receiving from the present Subway by scandalous overcrowding. The contention of the Interborough doubtless is that it ought not to be called upon to sacrifice any of the profits which it is now making. This contention has some weight, but it is a question whether the considerations on the other side ought not to have more weight. Any concern which is performing public service is entitled to a fair profit upon the money which it invests in its business, but no concern ought to be entitled to make a large profit out of conditions like those which exist in the present New York Subway. The Interborough is making a certain amount of profit out of the service which it is its proper function to render the public, but, partly perhaps because of general transit conditions in the city for which it is not to blame, it is making an additional profit out of the necessities of the people of the city. To fasten upon the community for fifty years the payment of these additional profits which the Interborough is now able to make only because its cars are crowded to the point of indecency would be unsound in principle and unjust in practice. Whether the advantages to be gained from the extension of the Interborough system as now proposed are sufficient to outweigh the fixing of this burden upon the community, is a question of great seriousness to which the public officials and the people of New York ought to give the most profound consideration. New York City needs subways sorely, but it is by no means certain that there is only this one way in which it can get them.

CHINA'S GREAT NEED

It is almost impossible for an American to realize the situation of the millions of people in central China who are on the verge of starvation. Unfortunately, the Chinese famine is hidden from the public view and public interest by the dramatic political situation—the striking movement which has dethroned an ancient dynasty and inaugurated a republic. There is widespread and terrible misery among hard-working and honest tillers of the soil. No relief can be expected from the soil until May, and in the meantime the situation grows daily more acute and desperate. A Famine Relief Committee has been organized in Shanghai, composed of both foreigners and Chinese, and representing all religious faiths, including the Episcopal bishop as chairman, Dr. Wu as vice-chairman, a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church as secretary, and the manager of the International Banking Company as treasurer; and, by reason of the character and ability of the men, it commands the confidence of the entire community. The Outlook has reported the proclamation of President Taft, as President of the American Red Cross, urging the people of the United States to help the suffering men and women in China, where neither the Government nor the Chinese people are able to meet even a small fraction of the need. Certainly the Republic of the West ought to hold out its hand to the Republic of the East and welcome a new opportunity of showing that America is the sincere and helpful friend of China. Remittances should be sent to Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, the well-known banker, who is acting as treasurer of the fund in this country. His address is No. 1 Madison Avenue, and all funds received are forwarded by cable through the Department of State at Washington without any deduction for expense. The urgent appeal of the China Famine Relief Committee, of which Bishop Greer, of New York City, is chairman, ought to meet with a prompt and generous response; and this is one of the cases in which one dollar given at once will do the work of two dollars later.

THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

The Republican party in China has important administrative changes in view. As is well known, China has hitherto been administered on the district, prefecture, and province system. A Chinese district may be roughly

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said to correspond to an American county. Its ruler is appointed by, and is directly responsible to, the ruler of the prefecture, which may be roughly said to correspond to an American State. The ruler of the prefecture is directly responsible to the ruler of the province, which may be roughly said to correspond to some great American territorial division, as New England, for instance. The ruler of the province may be a governor or a viceroy. The Republicans now propose to abolish the prefectures, leaving the districts to be as far as possible self-governing and subject to the direct control of the provincial authorities. In accordance with this, the railways have already been instructed to cease using the names of prefectures. A more interesting event to Americans, because of our great missionary interests in China, is the distinct assurance given by Yuan Shi-kai, the President of the new Republic, and by Dr. Sun Yat-sen—who is still acting as provisional President in the south—that there is to be entire liberty in matters of religion. It is a satisfaction to chronicle the fact that in last week's rioting at Peking and its suburbs no foreign schools, colleges, churches, or other mission property was damaged. Many of the foreigners took refuge in the Legation Quarter, which was defended by two thousand troops of various nationalities. The outbreak was due to the lack of funds to pay the soldiers.

THE TURCO-ITALIAN WAR: SYRIA AND ARABIA

The war between Italy and Turkey over Tripoli has now become a war whose effects are seen in countries outside Tripoli: namely, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Tunis. Last week Italian warships bombarded Beirût, the principal port of Syria on the Mediterranean. Sixty persons, it is reported, were killed in the bombardment, but no important foreign commercial or educational buildings were damaged, it is believed. Our interest in Beirût is largely due to the fact that the Syrian Protestant College is located there, a remarkably efficient educational institution founded nearly fifty years ago by the Rev. Dr. Daniel Bliss, who happily is still living. The institution is now under the direction of his son, the Rev. Dr. Howard S. Bliss. The buildings, eighteen in number, stand on a wooded stretch of nearly fifty acres on the top of a hill about a mile and a half back of the city. The Italians have been much criticised for this bombardment, but it is probable that it was only carried out with the object of forcing upon the Turkish Government and people the realization that prolonged refusal to accept the occupation of Tripoli might entail unpleasant complications throughout the Turkish Empire. As a matter of fact, the Italians explained that their only aim was to sink several small Turkish gunboats in the harbor. But it seems that in this effort, quickly realized, non-combatants were killed and the Custom-House and several harbor buildings badly damaged. Italy has also been active in the Red Sea and now occupies the Arabian port of Hodeida, greatly to the embarrassment of the French railway workers there, also the Farsan Islands, a group close to the Arabian coast south of Mecca and directly opposite the Italian colony of Eritrea in Africa. Thus Italy acquires a base on both sides of the Red Sea.

THE TURCO-ITALIAN WAR: EGYPT AND TUNIS

In Egypt and Tunis action was taken not by the Italians, but by the Egyptian and French Governments. The Egyptians have now occupied Sollum Bay, at the extreme eastern frontier of Tripoli. Eight years ago the Egyptian Government announced that its western frontier included this bay, and the present movement of troops is due to the Government's decision to establish a frontier post at Sollum as being within its own boundaries. It is supposed that Great Britain stands behind this movement and intends to checkmate Italy in any attempt to gain an additional port, and particularly so good a port as this, well protected, as it is, from the westerly gales which sweep with violence over that part of the Mediterranean. The Egyptian action, however, may prove of some immediate use to Italy, because the presence of Egyptian troops may be of value in watching and detecting contraband expeditions intended for the benefit of the Turks. The act is doubtless an indication of the influence of England rather than of Turkey in Egypt. Another equally interesting action taken by a foreign Power is the seizure of the oasis of Djanet, in the Tripolitan *Hinterland*, by France for the purpose, so it is announced, "of maintaining the security of all West Africa, as well as of Algeria and Tunis." This action is the more striking because Turkey claims always to have asserted the solidarity of Djanet with Tripoli, and, in particular, to have vigorously protested, so it is

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said, when some French soldiers visited the place three years ago. Whether the French action will ultimately help or hurt Italy remains to be seen.

INTEREST IN MISSIONS

The first session of the General Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church held in Chicago recently afforded fresh evidence of the appeal which missions are now making to practical men. All the meetings were crowded with delegates representing the best class of American men from all parts of the country. Addresses by Bishop Lloyd and Bishop Greer were listened to with the deepest attention. Mr. George Wharton Pepper, a layman of ability, inspired by great zeal and endowed with vision, discussed "The Response of the Layman to the Challenge of the Present Opportunity," and suggested, not additional church machinery, but personal effort in bettering communities and in forwarding missionary enterprises; and it was noticeable that what he had to say of prayer found a quick response in the great audience of men of affairs to whom he spoke. He declared that one reason for the apathy towards missions on the part of hundreds of church congregations lies in the fact that the layman does not think, in the bottom of his heart, that his church is of much consequence in his own neighborhood, and for this opinion, Mr. Pepper said, the layman often has ample grounds, "because there is so little social service undertaken in the name of the Church by many congregations, and the layman thinks that any enterprise which does so little good in his town cannot do any more good in the mission field." The temper of this great assemblage of men was brought out when Bishop Brent gave a vision of the awakening of the Orient, so graphic and inspiring that when at the close he asked the great audience to rise and pray with him for missions, it was felt to be the only adequate expression of the feeling of the men present. A striking fact came to light during the sessions of the meeting in the statement that at a session of the leaders of the new republican government in China the President voted against the indiscriminate killing of the Manchus, explaining that, though this proceeding was justified by Chinese custom, it was condemned by Christian morality, and that *he* was a Christian; and when he asked how many Christians there were in the room, three-quarters of the men in whose hands, for the moment at least, lay the future of China, declared themselves of the same faith. Dr. Sun, the retiring Provisional President of the Chinese Republic, is a member of the Anglican Church. Baptized by a missionary, disowned by his father, turned out of his home, passing through many perils and deprivations, arrested in London at the instance of the Chinese Minister and released under English law, working often with a price on his head, he steadfastly adhered to his faith and revealed in an hour of supreme crisis fidelity to the trust reposed in him.

CIVIL SERVICE IN PORTO RICO

In his recently published report, Mr. Stimson, Secretary of War, sensibly recommends that the head of the civil service in Porto Rico should be appointed by the President. Local influence should be eliminated. Moreover, the President should approve the rules made by the head of the insular civil service. These suggestions should be enacted into law. Another suggestion should also be adopted. The present law should be extended to include appointed officers in the Porto Rican municipalities. It will surprise some to learn that such a provision is not already a part of the Porto Rican Civil Service Law. In truth, the whole history of the civil service in that island is peculiar. Surprising as it may seem, the merit system was not made a part of the Organic Act, passed in 1900, for the government of Porto Rico. Our officials there were, in principle, for the most part, in sympathy with the merit system, but feared that the enactment of a comprehensive and stringent civil service law might considerably hamper the insular Government in securing the most efficient service. However, in 1907 Governor Beekman Winthrop did succeed in getting the Porto Rican Legislature to enact a law, far from the comprehensive law he wished, for it expressly excluded school teachers, the insular police force, and all municipal services. It should be added, however, that the school teachers and police force were already provided for by competitive examination and by protection while in office. Both services were satisfied with the existing system. They did not wish to take it away from the technical experts then at the head and hand it over to some civil service expert from Washington unfamiliar

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with Porto Rican conditions. As to the municipal services, however, there seemed no excuse for their exclusion from the new law. But it was the best law then obtainable. Mr. Winthrop had more difficulty in securing its passage than in securing the passage of any other law advocated by him during his entire term as Governor. The heads of the executive departments were also members of the Executive Council, or upper house, of the Legislative Assembly, and some of them naturally objected to restricting the power of appointment and promotion which they had freely exercised since the Government was formed. Furthermore, a large percentage of the lower house, composed exclusively of members of one party, opposed the adoption of *any* civil service law! While to have insisted on the municipal feature in 1907 would have meant the failure to pass any law, there should now be some greater guarantee against a possible exploitation of the island in the interest of any political party.

TURMOIL IN MEXICO

The Mexican Vasquistas—that is, the insurgents who support the cause of Emilio Vasquez Gomez as Presidental pretender—last week marched into Juarez, close to our Texan town El Paso. There was little fighting; the Madero Government feared the recurrence of such incidents as those of Madero's capture of Juarez and of the skirmishes near our border when American citizens were shot. Madero's plan seemed to be to cut off the rebels' supplies, and, with this in view, he declared Juarez a closed port, and asked the United States to forbid commercial intercourse. This was an absurd request, and was promptly refused. The forces acting for Gomez (he was not with them when Juarez was taken, but has probably since joined them) now threaten to move south in Chihuahua and make it an independent republic, with, as its President, Orozco, who threatens to become a formidable rival to Gomez as an insurgent leader and aspirant to replace President Madero. Meanwhile Zapata, the guerrilla chief, rages and destroys farther south. The immediate prospect of clashes with the United States is less than it was two weeks ago, but the internal state of Mexico is becoming worse and worse. Madero is placed precisely as Diaz was; he has no adequate force to deal with insurrections breaking out in several places hundreds of miles apart; his former military subordinates know this, and probably not so much radical ideals of government as personal ambition and love of excitement are putting Mexico into a state of turmoil and confusion out of which it is not easy to see an issue satisfactory and permanent.

THE OUTLOOK AND THE PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS

Now that Mr. Roosevelt has publicly announced that he will accept the Presidential nomination if it is tendered to him, many of our readers will be interested to know, and may very fairly ask, what will be the course of The Outlook during the next three months regarding his candidacy.

The Outlook has never been a partisan of any candidate or any party. It has approved of party candidates just so far as they have embodied and striven for those principles and ideals which seemed to The Outlook right and true. No one who has read The Outlook during the last three years can have any doubt about our personal regard for Mr. Roosevelt, or our confidence in his ability and spirit as a National leader. This confidence is increased by his reply to the seven Governors whose letter was printed in The Outlook last week and by his Columbus speech printed the week before last. We accept as the end to be accomplished in all the political activities of this country the ideal which he set forth at the conclusion of that Columbus speech in the following language:

"Our aim must be the moralization of the individual, of the Government, of the people as a whole. We desire the moralization not only of political conditions, but of industrial conditions, so that every force in the community, individual and collective, may be directed to securing for the average man and average woman a higher and better and fuller life, in the things of the body no less than those of the mind and the soul."

In pursuing this aim we shall report the acts, speeches, and principles of each one of the public men who are regarded as possible candidates with all the impartiality we can command, and with freedom to commend or to criticise them according to the standards set by the aim which, quoted above, we believe should be the aim of every patriotic citizen.

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THE RECALL OF JUDGES

What do we mean by the recall of judges? We mean that whenever a specified number of voters in the community think that a judge has decided a case wrongly, or is in the habit of deciding cases wrongly, they may demand that the community determine at a special election whether he shall remain upon the bench or shall be removed and some one else chosen to take his place. The Outlook does not believe that this would tend either to sobriety and steadiness of judgment in the judges or to justice in the community toward the judges.

Opponents of the recall of judges must realize that for the demand of this radical measure there is some reason. The administration of justice in the United States is not satisfactory to the people of the United States. It is too costly; it is often subject to intolerable delays; it not infrequently puts a check upon the will of the people, not because that will is unjust, but because it is contrary to legal traditions; it not infrequently indicates in the judge a greater familiarity with legal maxims than with human conditions, and a greater desire to sustain legal maxims than to sustain human rights, and at times a better comprehension of the interests of a class and a tendency to decide in the interests of a class rather than in the interests of the whole people. When in the famous Bakeshop Case the Supreme Court held by a narrow majority that the law limiting the hours of the workers in the bakeries was not Constitutional because it was not necessary to the preservation of health, the Court determined a question on which it was not informed, and aroused a passionate feeling which found expression in the mottoes posted in some of the underground bakeries of New York City: "The Supreme Court of the United States says that this is a healthy place to work in; if you do not think so, vote for Debs." When the New York Court of Appeals by a unanimous vote declared the Workmen's Compensation Act void because it violated the clause in the Constitution forbidding the taking of property without due process of law, and at the same time recognized that the principle involved was essentially just and the enactment was desirable, the dissatisfaction of the people with this check on the needed protection of the workingmen from palpable injustice was entirely justified.

Evils in the present administration of justice in this country have been recognized publicly by President Taft, by one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, by other judges, by prominent lawyers in different parts of the country, and by at least two important Bar Associations. The evils cannot be ignored; they ought not to be belittled. But The Outlook does not believe that the recall of unpopular judges by universal suffrage in a special election turning upon the fitness for the office they hold is the true remedy for these evil conditions. The reason frequently assigned for such recall is the reason why The Outlook is opposed to it. It is often advocated on the ground that the judges should be more immediately responsive to public opinion. The Outlook wishes to see their independence of the shifting currents of public opinion carefully guarded.

Legislative and executive officers should be directly responsible to the people. They are chosen to carry out the will of the people. If they fail to carry out the will of the people, they fail to fulfill the function for which they are chosen. An official chosen to carry out the will of the people should either carry out that will or be easily removable, that some one more amenable to that will may be substituted in his place. This is true even if that will in any particular case seems to him to be injurious, to threaten the public welfare, or even to involve individual injustice. In such a case either he should carry out that will or resign. This is the principle of the British Constitution, and it is essentially just.

For this reason all legislative officers should be elected for short terms. All elected executive officers should either be elected for short terms or be subject to recall by the popular vote. All administrative officers appointed should, for the same reason, be subject to removal by the appointing officer if they fail to carry out the directions of their superior, and he in turn should be subject to be removed by the people, either by recall or by a new election at the end of a short term, if he fails to carry out the will of his superior—the people who have chosen him. Civil service rules should put limitation on the power of appointment, but rarely any other limitation on the power of removal than the right of the official to a hearing. Permanence of tenure and independence of superior authority in every legislative or executive or

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administrative officer is undesirable in a democracy and might easily become perilous.

But judicial officers are chosen, not to carry out the will of the people, but to determine what is just between man and man, or between the individual and the community.

The chief business of the courts is to decide between individual suitors. They are necessary because the community has not time to hear the issues joined between individual suitors and decide between them; and because the community has not the capacity, even if it had the time, to hear witnesses, sift evidence, and pay continuous and undistracted attention to the arguments of the contending parties or their representatives. Because they have neither the time nor the ability to fulfill this function, it is delegated to courts of justice. To allow an appeal from the courts of justice to the people, an appeal which at least in theory may be taken at any time and in any case, is to assume that the people have what they have not—time and ability to adjudicate. The recall of the judges is simply a form, and a rather clumsy form, of providing an appeal from the decision of the court to the opinion of the public. It is perfectly clear that such an appeal should not be provided for in the case of ordinary trials between individual suitors.

It is even more clear that it ought not to be provided for in a case in which the individual is one party to the suit and the public is the other party. To make the judge dependent upon the public in a case in which the public is a party is to make the judge dependent upon the will of one of the suitors on whose claim he is to pass judgment. The history of England has proved that a lawyer appointed by the King, and dependent on the King for the tenure of his office, tends to regard the King as his client and to administer his office in the interests of that client. The history of the French Revolution equally shows that judges appointed by the people and holding their office subject to the will of the people tend to regard the people as their client and to render whatever decision the people demand of them. A dependent judiciary in monarchical England produced the Star Chamber and Judge Jeffreys. A dependent judiciary in the French Revolution produced the Tribunal of the Terror.

When the McNamara brothers were arrested and put on trial, the labor organizations throughout the country assumed their innocence and demanded their acquittal. The capitalistic organs throughout the country, though more conservatively and cautiously, assumed their guilt, though they did not demand their conviction. It is perfectly apparent that if the conviction of the McNamara brothers had depended upon popular vote there would have been no adequate investigation, no fair trial, no impartial tribunal, no honest and just result. To provide that the judge who presides over such a trial may be recalled from his office if his decision is not satisfactory to the voters is to provide that his decision must be subject to an appeal to a popular vote—a tribunal not free from partisanship and prejudice, and therefore absolutely unfitted to reach a just conclusion. Imagine that the McNamara brothers had been tried, found guilty, and sentenced, and then that the labor organizations had initiated a movement for the recall of the judge who presided at the trial. Improbable? Perhaps; but not impossible.

It is clear that there should not be power lodged in the people to unseat a judge because he has rendered an unpopular decision either between individual suitors or between the people and an individual suitor.

There are two, and only two, just reasons for the removal of a judge: corruption and inefficiency.

Adequate provision is made in most of the States for the removal of a corrupt judge, either by impeachment proceedings or by legislative action upon charges preferred and with a hearing provided. Recall by a popular vote upon suspicion of corruption, without trial and without formulated charges, would be palpably unjust.

The inefficiency may be due to indolence, or to narrow-mindedness and tradition, or to a spirit of traditionalism, or to ignorance of the actual conditions of life, or to indifference to the spirit of social justice and emphasis on the letter of the law, or to an undemocratic character out of harmony with the age and country, or to any other cause. But, whatever the cause, the remedy is not removal by popular vote without a hearing except upon the hustings, but by the Legislature after a hearing. This method is already provided for in some of our States. If the Legislature is slow to employ this remedy, public opinion can at the next election choose a Legislature more responsive to the popular will.

There remains one plausible ground for

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advocating the recall of judges, namely, that they have used their power to nullify the will of the people by declaring invalid legislative acts framed to carry out the will of the people.

The people have conferred, both upon the courts of the United States and upon the Legislatures of the several States, only limited powers. Those powers are defined in written Constitutions. When Congress or the Legislature passes an act which the people have given it no power to pass, the courts have assumed authority to declare the act invalid, because by such an act the legislative body exceeds the powers which the people have given. Because this authority of the courts to declare invalid acts of the National Congress and the State Legislatures is thought to nullify the popular will, the recall is urged as a means of remedying such nullification of the popular will. This is a clumsy remedy for the evil.

Questions involving the Constitutional authority of the Legislature are only a very limited number of the questions submitted to the judges. If the judges misuse the authority to declare invalid legislative acts, the remedy is not to give the people power to unseat an unpopular judge at any time and for any act; the remedy is either to limit or to take away the power of the judges to declare acts unconstitutional, or provide an appeal from such decision to the people themselves. The people who have given this power to the judges can limit or take that power away whenever they see fit to do so. There are three ways in which this could be done.

All the European nations, except Great Britain, have written constitutions. The power of the legislative assemblies is limited by these written constitutions; but the legislative assemblies are themselves made the final judges as to the meaning of these written constitutions, and therefore the final judges as to their own powers. It would be perfectly possible for the people of any of our States to deny to the courts of that State the power to declare an act invalid because unconstitutional. It would be equally possible for the people of the United States to deprive the Supreme Court of the United States of that power of Constitutional amendment. And the power could be conferred in the one case upon the State Legislature; in the other case upon the Congress.

Or the power could be transferred from the courts at large to a special tribunal specified for that purpose. The President of the United States can be impeached; but the impeachment proceedings are conducted, not before any Federal Court, but before the Senate of the United States. At one time in its history the Senate of the State of New York was its Court of Errors and settled as a final court the appeal in certain classes of cases. A similar judicial power is conferred in England upon the House of Lords. It would be perfectly within the power of the people of any State, or of the United States, to provide that whenever the constitutionality of any act was involved, the question of its constitutionality should be decided by the Senate of the State or the Senate of the United States. In this way questions of Constitutional law would be submitted to a tribunal which is responsive to the people. If it is desirable to submit questions of Constitutional law to such a tribunal, the proper course is, not to make the judges in all cases responsive to public opinion, but to create a special bench of judges which in this special class of cases would be responsive to public opinion.

A third and, in our judgment, a better method has been suggested by Mr. Roosevelt. It is that in case a law is held by the court to be unconstitutional, and therefore void, an appeal may be taken to the people, by a process analogous to the initiative or referendum, and the people may pass upon the question in a special election.

This is not a recall of the judges; it is an appeal from the judges. When the Supreme Court of the United States reverses a decision of the Circuit Court, it does not remove the judge who renders that decision. The Constitution may be regarded as a power of attorney which the people have given to the Legislature, defining their powers. When the Legislature gives to this power of attorney one meaning and the Court gives to it another meaning, there is nothing illogical, undemocratic, or radical in allowing an appeal to the people to determine which meaning they wish attached to that power of attorney. In fact, they practically possess this power now; for they can amend the Constitution, and so overcome the veto of the Court. Mr. Roosevelt's plan confers on the people no new power; it simply provides a simpler and more expeditious method of exercising that power. That this is not "democracy run mad" is indicated by the fact that the

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British Constitution is not only interpreted and amended but actually made by this method. Whenever the Ministry think an Act constitutional and Parliament thinks it unconstitutional, the question is referred to the people, and their decision is final. Recently the people have thus radically changed the Constitution by the limitations which they have put upon the power of the House of Lords.

We repeat, Mr. Roosevelt' proposal is not a recall of the judges, though some of the newspapers have chosen to treat it as though it were.

Mr. James Bryce in "The American Commonwealth" has pointed out the causes which have lowered the quality of the State judges: "Shortly stated they are: the smallness of the salaries paid, the limited tenure of office, often for seven years only, and the method of appointment, nominally by popular election, practically by the agency of party wire-pullers. The first two causes have prevented the ablest lawyers, the last often prevents the most honorable men, from seeking the post."

Mr. Bryce, in indicating the causes, has indicated the direction in which we are to seek a remedy: more attention to the selection of judges, better standards in their selection, and better compensation for their services.

In many, if not most, of the States of the Union judges are elected. This really means generally that two judges are selected as candidates by political bosses, and the people choose between the two. The effect of this is to give us political judges who are more or less dependent on the political machine for their renomination and reelection at the end of their term. It does not give an independent judiciary. In some instances, notably in New York State, the leaders of both the large political parties have avoided this result by accepting a nomination by the Bar Association. The result of this has been not infrequently to give judges who are more eminent for their scholastic knowledge of precedents than for their grasp of great principles. But judges ought not to be selected for their scholastic knowledge of precedents. The greatest judges both in England and America have been eminent, not for their scholastic knowledge, but for their ability to comprehend and apply to the complicated conditions of modern life the fundamental principles of social justice. It was this ability which made Judge Mansfield one of the greatest judges who ever sat on the English bench, and Chief Justice Marshall one of the greatest judges who ever sat in any American court. A better remedy than the recall for whatever evils there are in our present judicial system would be:

The appointment of judges, not their election.

Their appointment for a long term, or, better, for good behavior.

A public opinion which will compel the appointing power to select judges, not because of their knowledge of legal precedents, but because of their comprehension of the fundamental principles of social justice, and because of their acquaintance with the facts of life.

A provision for adequate salary and ultimate pension, and so for their pecuniary independence.

And a provision analogous to that in Massachusetts for the removal of judges by the Legislature upon a statement of the reason for the removal and a formal hearing.

Reform in the administration of justice in the United States, especially in some of our State courts, is greatly needed. But the recall is a poor expedient. It would be more likely to aggravate the evils than to rectify them, or to rectify them by threatening evils that would be worse. The recall offers to give us a judiciary which will interpret the popular will; but what the country wants is a judiciary which will interpret fundamental principles of social justice, and will dare at times, when necessary, in the interest of social justice, to disregard the popular will.

A LENTEN MESSAGE

The religion of the Gospels is a social religion and stands in striking contrast to other Oriental religions. They open paths of escape from living; Christ showed men how to live. In his childhood he appears as obedient in the order of the family. In all other reports of his career, save one, he is speaking, teaching, healing, doing wonderful works by the overflowing greatness of his personality; at all times, save one, he is among men and at work for them. In the experiences which Lent commemorates he stands alone; he is still the revealer and deliverer, but he is living his own personal life. In the wilderness and in the Garden of Gethsemane

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the world is far away; he is not speaking the truth with the authority of truth itself, he is not giving life because he was life; he passes alone through days tremendous in their significance; in the wilderness he chooses his path and in the garden he faces the last terrible pass through which it leads him and, unfaltering, walks the way of suffering to the end. In the two crises of his experience he is alone with his life; and we see him neither speaking nor acting, but living.

No moments in the story of the Gospels are more sacred or memorable than these in which Jesus of Nazareth becomes the Christ, the teacher becomes the savior, the man becomes the revealer of God. In the solitude and silence the consciousness of a divine work to be done, of a divine will to be fulfilled, grows so clear that henceforth the confusion of the world never blurs the vision of the teacher, and the hardness and blindness of men never break the will or crush the spirit of the savior. He went out of the world for a time in order that he might overcome the world. He withdrew from men that he might save them, and went into solitude that he might suffer and die for them.

No man can be healer, inspirer, and leader of his time if he is its creature, giving back to it what he receives from it; he must have something to give it which is so much his own that in sharing it with others he is giving himself; and no man finds himself in a crowd; his spirit speaks in his words, his will shows itself in his deeds, but he comes face to face with himself in solitude. To a time of intense activity Lent brings this message: Think before you speak, live before you act, choose your path before you try to lead men, gain intimacy with God if you would be brother to your kind.

DO YOU BELIEVE IN THE RULE OF THE PEOPLE?

EDITORIAL BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THERE has been much effort made to fog the issue raised in my Columbus speech. In reality, the issue is perfectly simple: Do you believe in the rule of the people? If you do, you are with us. If you do not, you are against us.

Many good and honorable persons do not believe in the rule of the people, and openly say so. We disagree with these persons, but we can respect them. There are other persons, however, who do not believe in the rule of the people, but who dare not say so, and who endeavor by trickery, by chicanery, by fraud, to seem to give the people the right to rule and at the same time to deprive them of that right. These persons we do not respect.

Let the men of little faith who fear the people keep steadily in mind that they have no part in the heritage of Abraham Lincoln and of those who worked with him for the preservation of this Nation. Abraham Lincoln did not try to trick or defraud the people into freeing the slave and restoring the Union; he appealed to them in the name of duty, in the name of honor and self-sacrifice, to risk all, including life itself, for a high ideal; and the people responded, and Abraham Lincoln was justified and the slave was freed and the Union preserved. Those who stand for the cause of social and industrial justice, to be obtained through the genuine rule of the people, are but carrying forward the work which dropped from Abraham Lincoln's hands when the patient, tired, kindly eyes were closed forever. He strove against intrenched wrong, against privilege in the most hateful form of his day. We, in our day, strive against hateful forms of intrenched wrong and privilege. We are not striving in bitterness of spirit, or with anger and hatred; as far as in us lies, we seek to emulate Abraham Lincoln's charity and kindliness in dealing with those who, as we believe, think erroneously; but we also endeavor to emulate the unflinching resolution, the unswerving purpose, with which he fought for the great cause of righteousness.

Abraham Lincoln believed in the liberty and the power of the people, achieved in law-abiding and orderly fashion. He believed in that liberty of the people which has law and order as its twin handmaidens. He respected the judges. But he regarded them as the servants and not the masters of the people; and he believed that the people had the right to decide for themselves the great fundamental questions of public policy, upon the proper

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solution of which it depends whether there shall or shall not be true social justice in the land.

Therefore we hold that, as regards these questions of public policy, courts, like executives and legislatures, must bow to the sober and well-thought-out judgment of the people.

Let me repeat once more what I have so often said—that I am not now speaking of ordinary cases of justice between man and man, such as must be decided by judges here in America as they are decided by judges in all other lands. I shall speak of these cases in some subsequent articles, in which I shall ask the people soberly to consider such facts as those set forth by Mr. C. P. Connolly in his recent articles in "Everybody's Magazine." In this article I speak purely of the kind of decision which only American courts are entitled to make—the kind of decision which no judge in our neighbor Canada, in Australia, in England, in Germany, or in France has the right to make, or would for one moment be permitted to make. Nor, at the moment, am I treating of the action of the National courts, because the Federal form of our Government makes it more difficult to propose a working remedy in the case of the Nation than in the cases of the several States. I am speaking of the action of the court of a State when it declares that a law passed in the collective interest of the whole community is unconstitutional; and I have especially in view the laws affecting human rights from a most vital standpoint—the laws affecting the terms and conditions of life and employment among the wage-workers.

I am not primarily concerned with methods; my aim is to secure the right of the people to decide for themselves, according to the principles of common sense and justice, what the public policy shall be in these matters. I am concerned with the end, not the means. If in any State the Constitution so clearly defined the power of the Legislature to act for the general welfare as to prohibit the courts from nullifying any law that is consonant with morality and public policy as understood by a majority of the people, and if in actual practice the courts respected such Constitutional prohibition, then there would be no need for what I propose; because in such case there would be full recognition of the absolute right of the people to decide the policy of their representatives, legislative and judicial, in these matters—and this is all for which I contend.

But in actual practice I know no State where such conditions prevail; they certainly do not prevail in the State of New York. Therefore I hold that provision should be made in the Constitutions of the several States which, in the event of a clash between the Legislature and the Court as to the constitutionality of such legislation as I have spoken of, should permit the people themselves to decide what the true interpretation of the Constitution is. I am not concerned with terminology. Whether this is called a referendum to the people or whether it is called a shorter and simpler way of amending the Constitution, to my mind matters nothing. The essential thing is to get the power for the people.

It is not merely untruthful but silly to say that such a process would leave us "at the mercy of the mob." Such a process as I advocate would take at the very least two years' time. If in two years the people cannot come to a sober and deliberate judgment, then it is impossible that they should ever so come. If they have not the character and the intelligence to enable them, after two years' deliberation, after seeing the whole matter threshed out by the Legislature and before the executive and by the court, and finally by public speakers in an election, to themselves decide what they meant when they framed the Constitution, then it is idle to talk of their being fit to frame a constitution.

The wisest judges have always fully recognized this right of the people to rule, this right of the people to be their own masters and ultimately to decide their own policy. As former Chief Justice Campbell, of Michigan, said, "The greatest knowledge that we have in this world is the common knowledge of the common people." I do not propose to give the people any new power. I propose to restore to them the power out of which they have been defrauded, the power which it is their right and their duty to exercise. I propose to provide a better and more effective method for the exercise of the power reserved and inherent in the people to make or unmake their Constitution or construe the Constitution in accordance with their well-considered needs. I preach no new doctrine. The proposal that I make for the several States was in actual practice acted upon by the people of this whole Nation but a very short time after the Constitution was adopted. The United States District Judge for the Eastern District of Arkansas, Judge Trieber, in 1907, in an article in the "Amer-

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ican Law Review," discussed the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States when, but two or three years after it had come into being, it decided that under the language of the Constitution a State was liable to be sued in that Court by a citizen of another State or of a foreign country. In consequence of this decision the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution was adopted. Says Judge Trieber: "The amendment, it will be noticed from the language used, does not aim to change the Constitution, nor even add any limitations not in the instrument, but is merely explanatory, and in effect reverses the decision of the Supreme Court rendered in Chisholm vs. Georgia by declaring that 'the judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign country.'" Judge Trieber also refers to the decision rendered in another case by the Supreme Court through Mr. Justice Bradley, when, in speaking of this Eleventh Amendment, the Court said: "This amendment, expressing the will of the ultimate sovereignty of the whole country, superior to all legislatures and all courts, actually reverses the decision of the Supreme Court."

It thus appears that it has been officially recognized by the Supreme Court, as is set forth in the words of Justice Bradley, that the people of the United States have actually construed for themselves the Constitution of the United States, reversing and overriding the decision of the Supreme Court in so doing. All I ask is that what the people of the Nation have actually done the people of each State shall actually be allowed to do. Let the power so secured to them be a real and not a nominal power, a power of actual exercise; a power which shall not be exercised save after sober and deliberate thought, but which shall permit such sober and deliberate judgment of the people to become, as it should become, the unquestioned law of the land.

In concluding, then, let me ask those who disagree with me frankly to state whether or not they believe that the people have the right to rule themselves, and to settle for themselves the course they wish to pursue as regards great and vital questions of public policy. If our opponents do not believe in this right of the people, then they must repudiate the principles and the policies of Abraham Lincoln. If they are true to the teachings of Lincoln, if they do believe in the right of the people to rule, then they are bound also to hold that the power of the people, in the language of Mr. Justice Bradley, speaking for the Supreme Court, "is superior to all legislatures and all courts, and expresses the will of the ultimate sovereignty of the whole country."

MR. ROOSEVELT'S COLUMBUS ADDRESS

A POLL OF THE PRESS

THE subjects of Mr. Roosevelt's Columbus speech were, as the Lancaster (Pennsylvania) "Examiner" (Rep.) says, "an announcement of what all Progressives mainly agree upon"—the short ballot, direct nominations, direct election of United States Senators, the initiative and referendum, and the very restricted recall. On all of these subjects Mr. Roosevelt reiterates his previous utterances. As the Charleston (South Carolina) "Courier" (Dem.) reports, "all that Colonel Roosevelt said before the Ohio Constitutional Convention yesterday he has said before but never all at one time," and as the St. Paul "Despatch" (Rep.) says, "there is nothing particularly new in the speech." The Waterville (Maine) "Sentinel" (Dem.) declares that "we have the familiar Roosevelt ideas recast," and the Hastings (Nebraska) "Republican" (Ind.) says that after a careful reading of the address "it will be seen that he is the same Roosevelt."

A poll of the press on these issues discloses the fact that the East is not all effete and that the West is not all Progressive; that in every State there are conservatives and radicals and that their newspapers have expressed themselves conservatively and radically.

Of all the subjects mentioned in the address, the suggestions looking towards an amendment of some customs regarding the judiciary have elicited most of the newspaper criticism.

Mr. Roosevelt opposes the ultra-radical proposition for the recall of judges, thereby "stamping himself as a conservative in that

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respect," according to the Zanesville (Ohio) "Recorder" (Ind. Rep.), and, according to the Douglas (Arizona) "International" (Dem.), "he comes pretty near straddling."

Mr. Roosevelt would apply in extremest cases the principle of the recall to judges. And why? Because, according to the New York "Globe" (Ind. Rep.), "the people have become tired of the kind of administration of justice they are receiving. This is the reason, and not any rise in the spirit of anarchy, why there is a demand for reform and a feeling about for a remedy. This is the reason why California last October voted 5 to 1 for a Constitutional amendment establishing the judicial recall."

The Jacksonville (Florida) "Times-Union" (Dem.) adds:

We cannot expect perfection, but we are at least justified in rejecting such attempts at justice as have been found wanting in application to our needs in the effort to replace them with something that may be better because it is different.

For the principle of restricted recall, the Topeka "Capital" (Rep.) proclaims:

The people have a right to possess this power, which, it seems to us, is an unquestionable proposition, and if the people desire it, there is no power to keep it from them.

But the Boston "Transcript" (Ind. Rep.) reminds us that "all people are not all wise all the time."

Neither are all judges, but, on the whole, the courts buttressed with independence and armed with authority have proved institutions, not alone for the protection of the individual, but for the protection of human liberty.

And the Milwaukee "Wisconsin" (Rep.) also reminds us that "thousands of Americans . . . have very grave doubt that the recall of judges would be anything but a menace to the judicial independence which is essential to insure justice."

The St. Louis "Republic" (Dem.) even declares:

Mr. Roosevelt . . . rejects utterly the idea of administering justice exactly and equally in accordance with law. What he applauds is an executive who does things that seem to be right or expedient, regardless of law. What he would have the courts to do is to ignore the law, which they are sworn to obey, and decide all questions in accordance with their sympathies or their conscience.

Mr. Roosevelt's, exclaims the New York "Times" (Ind. Dem.), is "a wild scheme":

To state it is to invite for it amazed contempt. We suggest only one point. He calls this crazy plan "progressive." In reality it is a leap backward.

Why? Because, says the Philadelphia "Bulletin" (Rep.),

Make the courts and their interpretations of the law subject to reversal by the people, and their oath to support and enforce the Constitution becomes a farce.

The New York "Evening Post" (Ind.) adds:

Not by the threat of discharge, such as might be held over a department store clerk, but by the amplest recognition of the dignity and independence of the post, can we hope to cause the kind of man, whom we ought to seek for every place on the bench, to be willing or anxious to accept its responsibilities. It is through this attitude towards the judgeships, together with standards of selection conformable to it, and an appropriate scale of compensation that countries like England and Canada get courts which satisfy the highest requirements.

Yet, according to the Sacramento (California) "Bee" (Ind.), while, in Mr. Roosevelt's opinion, "the recall of judges should be adopted only as a last resort, his line of argument . . . tends greatly to justify this means of getting bad judges off the bench."

On the Atlantic slope an elastic attitude may be found among some papers. For instance, the New York "Mail" (Ind. Rep). says:

The keynote of the speech is the desirability of securing a complete degree of responsiveness to the popular will in Legislatures and in the courts. There is not a shadow of distrust of the people. . . . Mr. Roosevelt says that: "The people are more often sound in their decisions than is the case with any of the governmental bodies to whom they have delegated portions of their powers."

The Youngstown (Ohio) "Telegram" (Ind. Rep.) expresses relief at the amendment suggested and says: "It is certainly preferable to the judicial recall, and, under proper safeguards, might prove a very useful provision."

On the other hand, the Springfield (Massachusetts) "Republican" (Ind.) says that "from every point of view Mr. Roosevelt's scheme seems fantastical and unworkable, not to say revolutionary in the extreme."

Mr. Roosevelt called attention to the fact that Lincoln had actually applied in successful fashion the principle of the recall on the Dred Scott case. But the Indianapolis "News" (Ind.) finds fault with this:

There was nothing in Lincoln's attitude, either toward the Dred Scott decision, or the

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court that made it, which suggests, even faintly, the principle of the recall.

On the other hand, the Kansas "City Star" (Ind. Rep.) says:

Lincoln, who advocated the recall of the Dred Scott decision, as Mr. Roosevelt said, was the real conservator, not Buchanan, the stand-patter.

In operation the proposed method of reviewing judicial decisions would amount, thinks the New Orleans "Times-Democrat" (Ind. Dem.) to a "dangerously easy method of amending the Federal Constitution in special cases without amending it to cover all cases." In this connection the Chattanooga "News" (Dem.) calls attention to the fact that the people "rarely interest themselves in suggested Constitutional amendments," and asks "whether they would relish the added responsibility Roosevelt would thrust upon them."

Despite all these things, Mr. Roosevelt's address as a whole was, according to the Chicago "Record-Herald" (Ind.) "neither startlingly radical nor conservative;" it was "intensely practical and was deliberately made so." Yet it was "not radical enough to suit the extreme ideas of the Progressives," says the Uniontown (Pennsylvania) "Herald" (Ind.), "and there is too much Roosevelt in it to suit the conservative wing of the party."

To this the Evansville (Ind.) "Courier" (Dem.) adds:

The person who cannot find his particular shade of political belief reflected in Roosevelt's speech yesterday must be a crook and a jackass and a mollycoddle. Conservative, radical, progressive, mugwump, all ought to be delighted with the views of the ex-President.

On the other hand, the Troy "Record" (Ind. Rep.) calls it the expression not so much of a radical Republican as of "a radical Roosevelt." And a newspaper at the other end of New York State, the Buffalo "Commercial" (Rep.), warns as follows:

Great is progressive radicalism and Roosevelt is its prophet. . . . But there is also such a thing as progressive conservatism, and it is a force that will assert itself.

The Wilmington (Del.) "Journal" (Rep.) admits:

The entire speech is a powerful presentation of political Progressivism, which will certainly not lose the former President any friends, but will make him many new ones, because it will remove some elements of doubt that have existed about Mr. Roosevelt's position.

Is the address also a platform? No, says the Buffalo "Express" (Rep.), "the speech cannot even be looked upon as a tentative platform on which his admirers may rally to his support." It may be a platform, thinks the Muskogee (Oklahoma) "Phœnix" (Dem.). "Although not unexpected coming from Roosevelt, as a whole it is mighty strange doctrine for Republicans to swallow. But then, you know, there are Republicans and Republicans."

This is not the opinion of the St. Louis "Post-Despatch" (Rep.), which admits that "it may be that a platform was presented that will fire the popular heart." The Milwaukee "Free Press" (Ind. Rep.), however, doubts whether the address "will satisfy any large number of Progressive citizens." A like tone was found in another Milwaukee paper, the "Journal" (Ind. Rep.), supposed to be Senator La Follette's organ, though it puts the case thus:

If they could take his words at their face value the Progressives might rally generally to the support of Colonel Roosevelt.

The Laramie (Wyoming) "Boomerang" (Rep.) concludes that "as a fighting platform to carry . . . the principles of Progressive Republicanism as laid down by Colonel Roosevelt will do very well."

The speech has been generally interpreted as a confession of faith from the sentence, "I believe in pure democracy." Two Providence journals thus comment. First, the "Tribune" (Ind.) says that pure democracy is not consistent with the principles of the Republican party. "If it could be, it would mean that the party had surrendered its birthright and totally changed its character."

Mr. Roosevelt's . . . stand is now . . . for the direct rule of the people without restraint, making their own laws, electing all officers by direct vote, and, without intermediate agencies, exercising full control in governmental affairs. His "charter of democracy" is really a charter of demagogy.

Then the Providence "Journal" (Ind.):

Pure democracy, it hardly needs be said, was not contemplated by the Constitution. The carefully combined checks and balances of that instrument were designed to keep within limits the expression of the popular will. The people rule, to be sure, in the last analysis; but the system of representative government is the means adopted. Pure democracy has never been tried on any large scale in the history of the world. There was something resembling it in Attica under the legislation of Solon, but even then four classes of citizens were recognized. . . . The New England town meeting, it is true, comes pretty close to pure democracy; but no one has heretofore proposed to govern a

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State, much less the whole Nation, in this fashion. If Mr. Roosevelt holds by the theory of pure democracy he cannot be, as he says, "a believer in Constitutionalism."

On the other hand, the Boston "Journal" (Rep.) has this to say:

Never has Roosevelt impressed so forcibly as in this speech the realization that his chosen work is, like that of Lincoln, one of emancipation.

The Detroit "News" (Ind.) also likens him to Lincoln, saying:

The people can feel that here, at least, is a man who is the greatest democrat of them all since Lincoln.

As to the character of this Bill of Rights, "no Progressive," says the St. Paul "Pioneer Press" (Ind. Rep.), "will be able reasonably to find fault with the Colonel." Certainly, adds the Cincinnati "Enquirer" (Dem.)—

he has stated his views of progression in such a manner, with such force, such logic, and such subtlety of argument that the Republicans who reject his proposed policies will have great difficulty in justifying their regard for the will of the people.

In the opinion of the Pittsburgh "Press" (Ind.), the speech is "a veritable trumpet blast which will shake the ancient strongholds of organized greed, political reactionism, social injustice, and judicial usurpation to their very foundations." "It is," affirms the Toledo "Blade" (Rep.), "the vital force and uplift in the soul of the Columbus address which insures its immense influence upon current events."

The Chicago "News" (Ind.) expresses this influence as follows:

The vision which Mr. Roosevelt sees will have to be worked out by the exercise of all the goodness combined with all the intelligent foresight that is in us as a people.

But, apart and beyond anything of a transient nature, Mr. Roosevelt's address, asserts the Philadelphia "North American" (Ind. Rep.), "will live in history as the revivification of the principles of popular government and human rights as expounded by Abraham Lincoln more than half a century ago." To this the Chicago "Tribune" (Ind. Rep.) adds: "This is the full-blooded democracy of Lincoln; the true spirit of his profound trust in the common people—in their justice, in their good sense, in their ability and right to rule themselves."

THE LAWRENCE STRIKE: A REVIEW

AT the railway station in Lawrence, Massachusetts, there were gathered on the Saturday after Washington's Birthday a crowd of children. With them were a number of grown people, some of whom were these children's parents. On the children were fastened tags which showed that they were about to be sent on a journey. Some of these children were ill-clad. They evidently came from the families of wage-earners.

Policemen were there, too. In charge of these policemen was the head of the force. He made it known that he intended to prevent those children from being sent on their journey, and the warning went out that any one who attempted to put those children on the train would be arrested.

"All right, we will go to jail," a workingman replied; "we are satisfied."

As the police began questioning the people as to where they were going to send the children, one woman is reported to have replied: "I zend dem to mine friends; they is mine children, not yours. You mind your business."

Just about as the train was to start the children were lined up in charge of the women. Thereupon the police interfered. They started to turn the children away from the train. There was a struggle. The police tried to arrest the women. In the midst of the turmoil were these frightened children. There was a big truck there, and the police began loading it with children and women. Not a child was allowed to go aboard the train. Many of these children and women were carried to the police station, and there a number of the women were locked in the cells. Later both men and women were arrested on charges of neglect for intending to send these children away.

This incident, which we have recounted in substance as it was told in the conservatively-minded "Transcript" of Boston, has served more than anything else to call the attention of the American people to the Lawrence strike, for these children were the children of striking textile workers. Ordinarily if forty or fifty children were being

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sent away on a train the police would not be gathered there. The reason why the police were on hand was because these children were being sent away at the time of a strike, and the effort to send them away was planned by a strike committee.

Why should there be this turmoil? Why the presence of policemen there at the railway station? Why should the whole country be stirred as it is over the question whether the police were doing right or not? The answer is simple. Because the incident involves the most serious question before the country—the question of the relation of workmen to their work and to their employers; the question that is called the question of capital and labor, but is really a question of human rights and human welfare.

The story of this strike has already been told in The Outlook. As a consequence of our account of the strike, and our comments upon it, we have received many letters. Among them are vigorous criticisms of the reports that we have published and protests against the statements that we have made, on the ground that our attitude has been unfair. One writer, who does not sign his name, says that the report made by our special correspondent was absolutely and perniciously misleading, although he does not say whether it misrepresented the strikers or misrepresented the manufacturers. Another reader says in surprise and reproof, "I had supposed that The Outlook was on the side of law and order, not anarchy." The fact that other readers of The Outlook have assured us that our treatment has been fair and just does not prevent us from regretting that those readers who have protested, and others whom they represent, should have felt that an account that we have published has been unjust. Not for the purpose of defending our cause, but for the purpose of showing that we have not neglected the right of our readers to know all the facts that we have obtained, we wish to let all our readers know that we have been in communication with the Governor of Massachusetts, with the Mayor of Lawrence, with judicial authorities, with the manufacturers whose employees are on strike, with several men whose sympathies are distinctly with the manufacturers, with men whose interest primarily is neither on one side or the other, but in the attainment of social justice, and with several who have visited Lawrence for the purpose of ascertaining the facts. With the information thus obtained let us briefly tell the story of the strike from the beginning.

Recently the Legislature of Massachusetts passed a law which reduced the hours of labor from fifty-six to fifty-four hours a week. While the bill to bring this about was pending in the Legislature, the manufacturers stated before the Legislation Committee that if the hours were reduced they would have to reduce the wages of their employees proportionately. The Legislature nevertheless made the reduction. As soon as the law went into effect the manufacturers made the wage reduction which they said that they would make. Upon this the employees went on strike. Their view was that the State had no intention of reducing by law the income of wage-earners, and therefore in making the wage reduction the manufacturers were nullifying the purpose of the new law. On the other hand, the manufacturers stated that they had already complied with two reductions in hours of labor without reducing wages; that they could not pay the same wages for fifty-four hours as they had been paying for fifty-six hours; that a wage reduction in this case was the only way to maintain the same reward for the same work that had been done before.

No such strike as this can, of course, be carried on without some kind of organization among the strikers. Ordinarily, in this country, the strikers are organized according to their trades. The several unions represented in a single mill are usually affiliated with one another through a federation. This is the prevailing form of labor organization in America. There is, however, another kind of labor organization. In this the laborers are organized according not to the trade but according to the industry. For example, instead of the spinners being formed into one trade union, and the weavers into another trade union, and so on, all the employees in the textile industry are united in a single organization. This form of organization is the one preferred by the Socialists; for, according to their view, wage-earners are united in a common interest, not by their common craft, but by the fact that they are recipients of wages, and therefore, according to their view, have interests that clash with the interests of their employers. In the case of the strike at Lawrence, the leaders of the wage-earners were representatives of this second type of organization, which in this country bears the name of the Industrial Workers of the World. The principal constituent body

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of men in this organization is the Western Federation of Miners. It is a body distinctly Socialistic, and one that has been engaged in a turbulent labor war. It gained its chief notoriety through the trial of two of its officials, C. H. Moyer and W. D. Haywood. Although these men were acquitted of the charge of murder on which they were tried, there was no doubt that the spirit of the organization which they led was one that condoned and even encouraged violence. Of the two chief leaders at Lawrence, one was this same W. D. Haywood; the other was a man named Ettor. It was the most natural thing in the world for the people of Massachusetts, and particularly for the manufacturers whose mills were situated at Lawrence, to regard the presence of these men there as full of peril to the community and specifically to the mill property. This feeling was enhanced by the appearance at Lawrence of disorder. A large part of the mill operatives there are foreigners. Modern industries are so organized that the owners of such mills are scattered over a wide territory. There are thousands of shareholders, and they live in many different places. They do not know personally the people who are doing the work in the mills that they own. The lack of acquaintance between the owners of the mill and the people who are doing the work of the mill is intensified when the workers are foreigners who do not speak the language of the country or understand its traditions. While, therefore, Haywood and Ettor were appealing to these people to stand up for what they declared were their rights and to assert themselves, there was no one from the other side to go to these employees with anything like a message of human understanding. How much disorder there was at Lawrence is a matter of dispute. At any rate, the militia was called out, and both the militia and the police became active in suppressing anything that seemed to threaten disorder. While this state of affairs existed a murder was committed, and Ettor was arrested and held in jail for trial on the charge of being an accomplice to the deed. There have been two views as to the use of force in this strike.

On the one hand, it is said that the agitators went to Lawrence to incite to riot and bloodshed; that the doctrine which they preached was not merely one of disorder, but also one that, if allowed to go unchecked, would result in the subversion of the whole social and industrial structure; that they are not only Socialists but anarchists; that they do not represent the legitimate demands of labor and of labor organization, but that they are as much enemies of American labor organizations as of the rights and interests of capital; that the people whom they appeal to are ignorant and incapable of understanding the spirit of American self-restraint, and that the only safety lay in the exercise of force by the militia.

On the other hand, it is said that the use of the militia was invoked, not for the purpose of suppressing disorder, but for the purpose of suppressing the strike; that the forces of government have been used to prevent the right of free speech; that the arrest and incarceration of Ettor can be explained only on the ground that it was thought desirable to put a dangerous man out of the way; and that arrests have been made without specific charges and without reference to overt acts, for the sake of creating an atmosphere of intimidation. One view is persuasively expressed in this letter which we have received from one who takes, not the point of view of the manufacturers, but of at least a group of English-speaking operatives:

> We in Lawrence have gone all through the phases of changing public opinion. We began by being sentimental and we have ended by being reasonable. We know now that a dignified and reasonable request for an adjustment of matters was to have been made by the English-speaking operatives; we know that the federated labor organizations are wholly against this abortive attempt at a strike, and bitterly against its methods; we know that the strikers are foreign-born, non-English-speaking people whose ideals were formed in other countries, who live as they lived in other countries, and who will not live differently, who are not spending or disbursing their money here, who are training their children to be seditious, and who are wholly under the thumb of outside leaders of unsavory records in other cities.
>
> The American Woolen Company and the people who have been imported to work in the mills (it remains to be proved who did the importing—foreign agents, transportation companies, or who) are not Lawrence. Aside from them, the mills are Lawrence, and Lawrence is the mills, and this has been true since sixty years or so ago, when the first mill was built on the Merrimac River. We are all working people here, though most of us have got several hundred years beyond the stage when bread and onions are caviare to us. Most of us have become accustomed to a certain sort of good living. Our wages and salaries have not increased with the high cost of living, but most of us are not blaming the mills for the high cost, or throwing stones and breaking windows to

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get better wages. We have been able to adjust difficulties in the past without trouble, we can do it in the future, and without calling on outside Socialistic leaders. After these foreigners have taken their money out of the banks and drifted away, and after Ettor and Haywood have made their pile and gone to carry on their deadly work in some other city, the real Lawrence, the real working people, the working people taxpayers, will be called upon to pay for the mischief caused by these men without a country.

This is by no means an extreme view, but it represents those who feel that the operatives at Lawrence have not been justified in their conduct. On the other hand, an equally moderate view has come to us in a letter from one who has visited Lawrence:

With a desire to get a first-hand impression of industrial and living conditions at a disturbed center, I visited Lawrence with a friend a few days ago; and, with a personal letter of introduction, we went to Colonel Sweetser, at the Armory. We found him courteous and entirely frank in his discussion of the situation. He offered us every assistance in studying local conditions, and expressed a keen desire to have the militia relieved of the duty which called them to Lawrence. It was not, he explained, a soldier's job to patrol a town in this condition. It was police duty. He thought one hundred properly directed policemen could do the work better than his soldiers. This is reasonable. A soldier is trained to work in association; a policeman to work alone. A squad of fifty men with drawn bayonets is a clumsy weapon at the best with which to explain to a lonely foreigner that he must not stand on the street corner or speak to a passer-by. Some one of the fifty bayonets may be in wrong hands, and, as Colonel Sweetser significantly said, "the longer we stay here, the more chance there is of some one making a blunder."

Whether the purpose of the militia in Lawrence is merely to preserve law and order, or whether it is to end the strike, seemed to be a matter of doubt with a number of the soldiers interviewed; but many frankly professed keen interest in breaking the strike. How effectual they are we could not at first understand. We had known that street meetings and parades were prohibited; but on leaving Colonel Sweetser in the evening he kindly assigned a genial captain to guide us on scout duty next morning. On the captain's advice we went alone instead, as he explained that pickets would run and hide if they saw a man coming in uniform.

On the previous evening there was less tension. At remote points we were even able to accost scattered people on the street and ask a few questions. But next morning it was different. Colonel Sweetser had said, "We do not allow the people to congregate, and we keep them moving." In the morning we learned how these boys obey orders. At several points we paused in a block or at the corner to decide which way to go. Invariably a sentry would call to us, "Move on!" even when less than a half-dozen people were on a three-hundred-foot block. This was not only in the mill section, but far away, at streets facing the public park, and in residence sections. We learned that in Lawrence to-day three peaceable citizens are not permitted to stand at the street corner long enough to say, "Shall we turn up or down the street?"

This was the situation when the leaders of the strike took an action which introduced a new element into the story. They arranged to send to other cities several companies of children. Two companies were sent to the city of New York. This action was news. It was telegraphed to the press all over the country. There was something dramatic in this movement of bodies of children from families of strikers that appealed to the imagination. With regard to this action, as with regard to other events of this strike, there have been, in the rough, two opinions. On the one hand, it was held to be an unjustifiable act, a reprehensible misuse of childhood, an effort to exploit the child in order to advertise the strikers' cause, a disregard of the rights and interests of the children themselves, an encouragement of neglect of their children on the part of parents, an injection of children as combatants in a labor war, a subjection of the children to the dangers of absence from home amid strange surroundings. On the other hand, it was regarded as a modern "children's crusade" in a cause as high and lofty as that which sent the great company of children in the Middle Ages on their journey against the infidel, a legitimate method of letting the whole people of the country know that there was want and suffering in the homes of the strikers, that the cause for which these strikers were fighting was one which made them willing to endure great sacrifice. Moreover, this action, from this point of view, was regarded as an efficient method of removing the children from surroundings in the city of the strike as dangerous to those children as any epidemic could be, and of putting them in the care of people who would be able to give them food and shelter such as they could not obtain from their own parents.

Whether it be regarded as a sordid piece of advertising, or as a lofty form of crusade, it was successful in one respect; it aroused the interest and attention of the whole country. It also aroused protest. When, therefore, a company of some forty children were gathered at the railway station at Lawrence, to be sent to Philadelphia, the police were at hand.

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With regard to this incident, the manufacturers have given to The Outlook the following statement:

The manufacturers of Lawrence are in no way responsible for any detention of children who were being sent out of the State. The manufacturers did not ask for this; they were not consulted about it; they were not informed of the contemplated action of the local authorities. Any decision as to the lawful and proper course to be pursued in this matter will be entirely satisfactory to the manufacturers, who are giving employment every day to an increased number of people, and are thereby gradually reducing any distress that has been occasioned by this unfortunate strike.

In reply to a request addressed to Governor Foss, of Massachusetts, The Outlook has received the following letter:

I am directed by the Governor to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of February 27. It is very unfortunate that reports which are so absolutely untrue, and which so totally misrepresent conditions at Lawrence, are sent out through the press.

The military forces of the Commonwealth were not directly concerned in the affair of Saturday last at Lawrence, but simply responded to the call of the police to be in readiness should a riot ensue. The police were acting under Chapter 181 of the Acts of 1909, they claim; and while it is very unfortunate that they took the view that they did, the accounts of the affair were very grossly exaggerated, and were so highly colored as to arouse the most widespread condemnation of the action of the authorities. No arrests were made by any of the militia, nor did they take any part in the incident of Saturday.

The reasons that impelled the police to take this step grew out of conditions arising in Lawrence after the departure of the first group of children who were sent to New York. Parents complained to the civil and military authorities that their children had been taken away from them without their consent, and others complained that this consent was obtained under threats and by intimidation.

Another detachment of children was sent into another State, and the same complaints were made in regard to them; and the police believed that a similar condition existed when they decided to put a stop to this exportation of children on a wholesale scale. It was very unfortunate that such a step should have been taken, but it was the action of the civil authorities and in no way involved the military forces of the Commonwealth. It was on these grounds that the police acted, and they were guided in such action by Chapter 181 of the Acts of 1909, which apparently gave them some grounds for such action.

There seems to be a mistaken impression that upon the Governor of a State devolves the authority to take action in case the Constitutional rights of citizens are abridged by the action of the civil authorities, but no such power rests with the Governor, and it has generally been the case that where a man's Constitutional rights have been invaded it has devolved upon him to defend those rights by appeal to the court.

In this case, however, realizing the gravity of the situation at Lawrence, the Governor requested the Attorney-General to make a rigid investigation into the matter, and this is being done, in order that the rights of our citizens may be properly safeguarded.

The Governor has endeavored from the very outset of the difficulties at Lawrence to bring about a settlement of the trouble, and he submitted a proposition to both the strikers and the mill authorities which, had it been accepted, might have brought about an early settlement; but neither side would consent to it.

There is no compulsory arbitration law in this Commonwealth which could be appealed to. The situation is a very serious one and one which has caused the gravest concern to the Governor and to the municipal authorities. The military forces of the State were sent there to protect life and property upon the request of the civil authorities, who were unable to cope with the situation. This they have endeavored to do without the use of unnecessary force.

The presence in Lawrence of men like Haywood has very seriously complicated the situation. The troops will be withdrawn at the earliest possible moment, and as a matter of fact less than one-quarter of the force that was sent to the city at the height of the trouble now remains there. The civil authorities are resuming control of the city, the military simply being held in reserve in case of the arising of a situation with which the authorities there are unable to cope.

There is no question that the striking operatives have grievances that demand adjustment, but all attempts by our State Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, by the Governor, by the citizens' committees, and by individuals, to secure a conference with both parties have signally failed.

The troops will not be permitted to remain in Lawrence any longer than is absolutely necessary. The situation has been so seriously misrepresented by the newspaper reports that it is difficult even for those of us who endeavor to keep in the closest touch with matters to know at all times just what the situation is, and the result has been that the Commonwealth has received condemnation from many quarters that is entirely undeserved.

If there is any further information which this office can furnish you on any point, I shall be only too glad if you will advise me in regard to the matter. Yours very truly

DUDLEY M. HOLMAN,
Secretary to the Governor.

There seems to be practically universal agreement now that officials connected with the Police Department at Lawrence exceeded their authority in restraining the children from leaving. The defense, however, for this action, and, specifically, the view of the judge who committed a number of people for neglect, may be stated as follows: that several hundred children had been shipped in

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some cases without the consent of parents, and in many instances with consent obtained by fraud or duress; that these children were sent out for the manifest purpose of exploitation; that they were placed in families of Socialist members of the Industrial Workers of the World; that in some instances they were compelled to wear offensive inscriptions and solicit funds; that there was no regard for the well-being or the future of the children; that there had been repeated complaints from parents and citizens; that the police, acting on those complaints, detained the children on that Saturday until satisfied that in each case consent was obtained; that the proposed use and disposition of the children did not imply neglect of children under the Massachusetts law; that the court held the right of parents to send children where they pleased upon reasonable assurance of these facts, suggesting that when children were to be shipped hereafter a list be submitted to the city missionary or a committee of good men agreed upon. Further justification of this action is pleaded on the ground that there was plenty of relief at hand for the children in Lawrence, and that the money that was spent in transferring the children would maintain them at home for weeks. This, however, is clearly not a justification for any act violating the rights of parents to send their children away from home under proper guardianship, but rather a criticism of the wisdom of the parents in the decision that they reached.

The detention of these children has aroused indignation throughout the country. In no respect is the American people more sensitive than in regard to anything that relates to the invasion of the rights of the family. Protest has even been sent to Congress, and there will be an investigation by the Federal authorities.

At the end of last week influential textile companies, including the American Woolen Company, announced an increase of wages.

This strike at Lawrence, the story of which we have here reviewed, has brought to public attention certain great questions which are not at all confined to Lawrence. They are questions which relate to every industrial center, and, indeed, to the whole modern system of industry. In the situation at Lawrence there are discernible three great classes of evils. First, those evils that are the result of inefficiency or wrong-doing on the part of individuals; second, those evils that are the product of an industrial system that is outgrown because it is undemocratic; and, third, those evils that are a consequence partly of individual wrong-doing and partly of the bad social system.

Between these three classes of evil there should be drawn the clearest distinction.

1. Whoever is guilty of either murderous violence or tyrannous use of power should be, and by the American people at large is, condemned. There is no sympathy throughout the country with those who would attempt to secure what they think are rights, either by the defiance of law, or by the perversion of the law, whether it is, on the one hand, the blowing up of buildings and assault upon people, or, on the other hand, the forcible and illegal detention of women and children and the use of the police and militia for other purposes than the public good. In either case such action is lawless, and must be not only condemned but prevented at all cost if our civilization is to endure.

2. In dealing with the evils of our industrial system the people of the country need to exercise both patience and determination. The conditions under which workers in an industry are not allowed to have anything to say in regard to their conditions of work or their wages are undemocratic, but they are a consequence of a system that is an inheritance of the whole country and should not bring blame upon individuals. There are employers of labor who are as anxious as any one to make industrial conditions democratic, but they cannot act alone. The Lawrence strike should call the attention of the country to those conditions, but it should not bring condemnation upon the managers who have to act under those conditions and are not specifically responsible for them.

3. There are, however, manufacturers and managers who do not recognize the wrong of these conditions. They are feudal barons living under feudalism and fighting to save it. We recognize the fact that in their personal relationships such men are good citizens and honorable gentleman, but they are at fault because they do not recognize the tendency of their times. That tendency is towards the establishment of industrial democracy—in which the workers shall participate, with the employers and with the consumers, in determining the conditions of their work and the share which shall be theirs of the products of their labor.

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AS THEY SEE IT IN THE NORTHWEST

BY FRANCIS E. LEUPP

INTRODUCING THE VIEWS ON BUSINESS OF THE RAILROAD MAN, THE MILLER, THE LUMBER MAN, AND THE BANKER

A MAN of seventy-three, of medium height and stocky build, with a head whose leonine lines are accentuated by a thick growth of straight hair now fast turning from tawny to white; whose dark eyes, as full of fire as a boy's, converge rather more than the ordinary; whose nose combines the inquisitive slant with the acquisitive contour; whose short and sturdy neck suggests the sort of obstinacy that fights, and whose wall is all nervous force—here you have the James Jerome Hill of to-day.

A little study of his physiognomy clears up some of the odd phenomena of his career. It makes it easier to understand how this rolling stone—by turns a farmer, a fur-trader, a wharf clerk, a laborer, a contractor, with no compunctions about changing his occupation as often as something really better offered—has not only gathered no moss but gathered some things a good deal better; how he accumulated a fortune, not by wrecking the fortunes of other men or by speculating on their fears, but by beating them legitimately at their own game, whatever it might be; how, at a time when all the railway world was saying that the last line was built through any country which could support it, he boldly struck out through a region but little explored and yet less exploited, and, without Government subventions or special legislation, ran a steel highway over its old cattle-trails and turned a dreary wilderness into a giant farm; and how, while most of our financiers were bolstering up enterprises in which they had capitalized expectations on an equal footing with assets, he committed his home State to legislation for the punishment of stock-watering.

All these things, and many others which stand out conspicuously in his life story, might lead one to infer that he has won his successes by merely reversing the course pursued by other men, as Rumford and Peabody and Junius Morgan did in carrying their New World ideas to the Old World markets. I do not believe that. If I were asked to write out a recipe for success based on Mr. Hill's experience, it would read something like this: "Have faith in yourself, and haul no empties." In every emergency, from the days when he used to drive his own ox-cart caravan to and from the Hudson Bay fur country till he traced on the map the route of the Great Northern Railway, he has weighed for himself every project which entered his mind from within or without; and, when his judgment has settled a question pro or con, he has refused to be budged from his opinion by threats, bribes, or cajolery.

Quite as invariable has been his habit of making every undertaking in which he has embarked pay him toll both going and coming; with the result that the return toll, however small at the outset, has swelled to huge proportions by virtue of some new development to which he has given an impulse. If, for example, he was carrying manufactured supplies from the Mississippi Valley to the Northwest coast, he would bring lumber back rather than run his cars home with nothing in them. Other men might laugh at this as carrying coals to Newcastle, and absurdly low rates might have to be made in order to get the ballast traffic started; but the spur his policy gave to the lumber industry in a region whose resources were then hardly suspected by the East opened new avenues of commercial possibility, and gradually drew into the treasury of his road millions of dollars that could have been gathered in no other way.

It is interesting to catch Mr. Hill in one of his ruminative moods and observe his manner of working out a conclusion. Lay a

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writing-pad and a pencil within reach of his hand, and the temptation to demonstrate a proposition soon becomes irresistible with him. "Let us see how that comes out," he will say presently; and a moment later the pencil, working continuously but with studied deliberation, will be making big, bold figures on the paper. In due course will appear there a row of digits with a decimal point somewhere in the line; then, under this, another row; and by and by, an operation in addition, subtraction, or multiplication. Next, with a quick, nervous sweep, he will make a curve at either end of the resultant line of figures, and an operation in division will follow.

All the while Mr. Hill will have been carrying on a murmured monologue explanatory of his calculations at each stage. At the end he will have proved the impossibility of this proposal, or the entire practicability of that, or the fallacy of some pivotal claim made in behalf of a third. And, whatever tricks other people's figures may play, Mr. Hill is absolutely assured that his own won't lie. In almost every instance he convinces the man he is talking with, also.

Now and then his restless pencil passes from ciphering to drawing pictures. The other day, as the incident was described to me by a credible witness, a man of strong financial standing was expressing, in conversation with Mr. Hill, his apprehension that this continent had reached a height of development from which all paths lead downward. Mr. Hill stretched out his arm and laid hold of a too-inviting pad and pencil. Near the lower right-hand corner of the blank page he drew a little circle, over which he wrote "Chicago." Directly up the sheet from that he ran a straight line, ending it in a reversed scallop which he marked "Hudson Bay." Returning with his pencil-point to the Chicago circle, he ran another straight line horizontally across the page to the extreme left edge of the paper, which he had already marked "Pacific Coast." Then, leaning back in his chair, he suspended his pencil over the rectangle formed by the two straight lines and the edges of the sheet. "There," said he, "is an empire of untold wealth, of which we have thus far barely scratched the surface!"

The impression Mr. Hill makes with one of his prophetic utterances is always profound. Even in circles where his business operations have excited antagonism it is not uncommon to hear him referred to as "that wise old man." In spite of his years, if he were to announce next week that the hour had struck for beginning serious development work in the Northwestern empire he had indicated, it is probable that he could command all the capital necessary to launch his proposed enterprise, on the mere faith of the public in his trained foresight and marvelous constructive ability.

When, in response to The Outlook's question, "What's the matter with business?" such a man combines diagnosis and prescription in the demand that we shall restore the normal balance between city and country, he is bound to have a hearing from intelligent citizens everywhere.

"The summaries of National progress in 1911," said Mr. Hill, in response to my query, "and the items of the National balance-sheet for the year show quite clearly what the country most needs, and along what lines its development must proceed. The balance of population and of industry has been disturbed and must be restored. The progressive decline of the percentage of our people engaged in agriculture and the steady drift of the population from the country to cities and towns are the proof. For half a century we have been building up every other National interest and industry at the cost of the farm. We should reverse that policy.

"This is not the statement of a novelty or a fad. It is as old as the fact that man cannot live on this earth without food. The wisest minds of all ages have recognized it."

"Then a like problem to ours has presented itself in other countries," I inquired, "and been met as you propose that we meet ours?"

"Certainly," answered Mr. Hill. "The men who revolutionized and restored agriculture in Great Britain and on the Continent knew the value and the necessity of their work. So did old Dr. Johnson when he predicted the steady growth of France from the wealth of her tilled fields, while rich Spain must decline through her reliance on mines and trade. So did Bacon when he named right cultivation of the soil and transportation as two of the three indispensable conditions of national development. So, for that matter, did Xenophon with his treatise on farming. What we insist upon to-day is a permanent conviction of mankind, as ancient and fixed as the race itself.

"The primary need of the country is the encouragement and improvement of the farm. The unimproved area must be kept for settlers who shall comply with the strict condi-

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tions that the situation calls for. The agricultural immigrant will soon have no place to go to. Our free land is almost exhausted. For this reason many newcomers have been going to Canada. But, with the filling up of the Canadian Northwest, the lands of that region, too, have been largely absorbed."

"Does not this point toward a time when increase of population will have more than overtaken the renovation of nature's resources, and the world will be left foodless?"

"For present purposes we need not look so far ahead. We do not yet know the limits of soil productivity; but we do know enough to be sure that present yields can be increased without difficulty to meet the necessities of generations yet to come.

"This means, first, that people must go upon the land and stay on it—or a restoration of the balance of industry by protecting and rewarding agriculture, instead of keeping it, as it has been, the nurse and servant of manufactures and commerce. It means, second, that those already on the land must be instructed in the elements of modern agriculture—that is, the acceptance, as practical rules for the conduct of the farm, of less than half a dozen simple principles of cultivation which the most unlettered man can understand. It means, third, a concentration of the National mind upon this necessity, and of the National power and resources upon stimulating the nerve center of the National life—in other words, both popular and legislative encouragement of agriculture through practical education and example."

"Would not a great many of our fellow-citizens regard you as trying to set back the hands of the clock of progress, and to put the United States once more into the status of an agricultural nation?"

This fear did not seem to disturb Mr. Hill's placidity, his aim being no more to upset the balance on the one side than on the other. Resuming consideration of his plan, he concluded:

"A national life so ordered is not only economically safe, but generates within itself the ability to meet and solve satisfactorily those other problems, political, social, and moral, that perplex and threaten every community where industry has forsaken or disturbed that fixed relative value and popularity of occupations which has been written in the very physical constitution of man since first he began to live on the fruits of the earth produced by the sweat of his brow."

Mr. Hill is a great believer in the possibility of raising in the Northwest pretty nearly any kind of agricultural product which can be raised anywhere in the north temperate zone. As we passed out of the room where we had been talking, and through another where a number of ears of seed-corn lay on a window-seat, he paused to show me the fine large kernels on ears raised in a region where a few years ago you could not have induced any ordinary farmer to believe corn culture worth trying. By special work with the soil and the careful selection of seed, what seemed a miracle had been accomplished, and still other supposed miracles were obviously waiting to be proved merely the application of common sense to a severely practical industry. Mr. Hill told me some interesting stories of plans in progress for waking up the farmers of the Northwest to a realization of what they can do if they will; but I am going to let another witness give us the outlines of one typical enterprise of this sort.

There is very little left of the old rivalry between St. Paul, Mr. Hill's home city, and its sister, Minneapolis. About the only form it takes now is a friendly struggle to see which can do most to make the Northwest boom. It is characteristic of the region that the electric snap in the air influences the spirits of the local business men. They refuse to see things in a blue haze. Depressions elsewhere only stimulate them to keep at work harder than ever, as if to tone up their systems in advance against a possible attack. Indeed, speaking generally, of all the sections of the country I have visited or heard from during my present quest, the Northwest puts the most smiling face upon the existing business situation. Financially and industrially, the "sphere of influence" of the Twin Cities now embraces both Dakotas and Montana as well as Minnesota, and reaches into Idaho, eastern Washington and Oregon, northern California, Iowa, and western Wisconsin.

The parent industry of Minneapolis is milling. In a long chat there with William D. Washburn, one of the few surviving members of the United States Senate of the period when only men of real antecedents were elected to that body, I was interested to learn that the little town, on his first arrival in 1857, contained only one flouring-mill plant, turning out what would now be considered an absurdly small daily grist. With

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his own eyes, in the span of a human lifetime, he has watched this business grow, till to-day, either because or in spite of an intense competition, the local milling companies put out sixteen million barrels of flour a year; and as proof that, even with these splendid figures, trade thereabout is on the increase, the output of 1911 beats that of 1910 by about a half-million barrels! The mills of the bigger concerns are now kept running night and day except on Sundays; prices to the consumer have been reduced so that the net profit, which in the Senator's young manhood was as high as two dollars a barrel, has come down to about ten cents; and the refuse bran, which under the old process of grinding was dumped into the river to get rid of it, is now shipped to points thousands of miles distant and sold for cattle-feeding at prices which make it pay the whole expense of milling.

Is it wonderful that you have to beat the bushes and poke into all the dark crannies in order to find a pessimist in the Flour City or its neighborhood?

At the administrative headquarters of the Washburn-Crosby Company I found John Washburn and John Crosby, the executive heads of the concern, and put to them the familiar question, "What's the matter with business?" Neither seemed to be aware that anything particular *is* the matter.

"We are pretty close to the soil here," said Mr. Crosby, cheerfully. "With us, good crops mean good business, and just now we have no great fault to find with the crops. This season South Dakota had a bad crop, and the year before North Dakota was the special sufferer; but the other States in the wheat-growing Northwest have done well. People, I suppose, must eat to live, and flour takes first rank among food staples. So, whether times generally are good or bad, there is always an abundant consumption of our product."

"Domestic consumption, you mean," I suggested.

"Yes," he answered; "our export trade has been on a descending scale for some years. Much of the damage has come from the French and German tariffs on flour. Then, the Germans have not only a tariff wall piled high against foreign flour, but also a system for the encouragement of German exporters which plays havoc with the export trade of other countries. In simple terms, the German miller who exports any of his product receives an export certificate which he can use, on a basis that makes exportation profitable, in payment of the duties levied on his imports of foreign grain. He is thus incited to make all the flour he can, not only from domestic grain and for domestic consumption, but from imported grain, which will give him a surplus to sell in the foreign markets.

"We are feeling the pinch of such uneven competition in Belgium, in Holland, in Scandinavia, and elsewhere where we have had a good trade. The millers of those countries, too, find it hard to contest their local fields with Germany, and are much disturbed about the situation, which they meet either with tears or active warfare, according to the circumstances of each case and the diversities of national temperament."

"Has any effort been made in this country to put our millers upon an equal footing with their German rivals?"

"A number of plans have been suggested, but they have come to little. The tariff law allows us the bonded manufacturing warehouse privilege, which, I dare say, is assumed to be sufficient; but its operation is too cumbersome to make it of much real value. What we need, in order to restore our exports to the proportions of old times, is something akin to the German system—something that will allow us to tap the stream of Canadian wheat as it flows, in bond, through this country on its way to Europe, and to export weights of our flour equivalent to weights of imported wheat ground by us."

Mr. Washburn agreed generally with the views of his colleague, but for the decline in the export trade he blamed in larger measure than Mr. Crosby the growing importance of British competition. England has within recent years, he said, been greatly improving her mills, drawing for her grain on Canada, Australia, Russia, and Argentina. Speaking of local conditions, he added:

"While nobody seems to be making much money just now, the Northwest has felt very little of what you would call depression, except through contact with the East. The uneasiness there has undoubtedly influenced sentiment in other parts of the country, and I suppose we have caught a little of the infection in a few spots, but it has not spread. If we could have the tariff question once settled, with the assurance that it was going to stay so, every one would cease troubling his mind about the future, and go to work

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adapting his business to the situation, whatever it might be."

"But you find in your industry no slacking up on account of the hard times?" I inquired.

"The flour-milling business seems to be advancing in spite of them," said Mr. Washburn. "The only change we notice is in the exercise by our customers of greater caution about buying. This affects not the total of purchases, but only the unit. That is, the customer who wants four car-loads of flour will now take them one at a time, instead of contracting at once for all four. But this, so far from being a drawback, is really a benefit in our business; for formerly sometimes a customer who had made a large contract would let us fill a part of it, and then, on account of some unexpected change in market prices, go back on the rest. The present practice is safer, and in that respect much more satisfactory."

Every one whom I consulted on banking matters in Minneapolis named the Northwestern National Bank as the largest and most influential institution of its class. This bank issues a little four-page periodical called the "Northwestern National Bank Review," the December number of which had just appeared when I dropped into the city. I was struck with the hopeful tone of its editorial utterances. Wherever else I had been I had heard more or less denunciation of the Sherman Law and the anti-trust decisions in the Oil and Tobacco Cases. But these things have no terrors for the "Review." On the contrary: "The fact," it says, "that these two tremendous companies have been forced to dissolve their organization and rearrange the many branches of their affairs, and that this reconstruction has become practically an accomplished fact without a business convulsion, has had a favorable effect on the opinion of the public with reference to the proceedings of the Government against the trusts." No complaints of the Government's activities, be it noted, but a calm acceptance of both matter and method as in the normal order of things. The article goes on:

> The people feel that business interests at large will be protected by the Government, and the industrial combinations, on their part, are attempting to comply with the requirements of the Federal authorities now that a precedent has been established. . . .
>
> The year 1911 is drawing to a close with a general feeling of confidence in the situation. The liquidation of over-extended interests which has prevailed for several years, together with consistent and continued conservatism as regards the launching of new enterprises, has placed the business of the country on a thoroughly sound and healthy foundation. An abundance of funds has been available during the crop-moving period, which usually has been one more or less trying to bankers. Evidences are becoming frequent of renewed activity on the part of industrial concerns, general trade is quite satisfying, and questions of large import which have been the occasion of uncertainty have reached a stage of conclusion which enables business to proceed with more confidence, in that the lines along which its methods must be arranged have been determined.
>
> Looking back over the current year, we have a feeling of satisfaction and gratitude that our city and territory have been so highly favored. The "Review" hopes that its readers in other sections have as much cause for gratitude, and predicts for all, if not a year of unprecedented prosperity in 1912—which can hardly be expected—at least a firm and steady business growth on sound foundations; and to this end every indication points.

Resolved to find out whether this hopeful utterance was merely a case of whistling to keep the courage up, or was based on actualities, I made some very pointed inquiries in various directions, and was astonished at the result. It appeared that this part of the Union had taken care of itself last fall without calling on New York for money to move its crops. In fact, the local banks not only looked after their own customers, but had not a little money to lend to the East for use in sections less fortunate. As far as can be foreseen, unless some uncontrollable wave of misfortune throws everything out of joint again, the emancipation of the grain-growing Northwest from its former abject dependence on Wall Street is complete.

In response to my questions as to the growth of the popular spirit of independence thereabout, Mr. E. W. Decker, then managing Vice-President of the Northwestern National Bank, and since elected its President, drew from its files for my inspection the data of two items in its autumn business which told the whole story in epitome. In view of the feeling of uncertainty prevailing in other quarters to which my search had carried me, this record surprised me so that I cannot forbear to quote the figures entire. The reader will appreciate their significance when he reflects that the period covered by this comparative table—from August 10 to December 1—is that in which, under the old familiar conditions, the farmers and men in minor walks of trade had to draw their deposits down to the lowest feasible point,

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and borrow all the money they could induce anybody to lend them, in order to tide over the annual season of stress. As the Northwestern carries open accounts with about eleven hundred country banks scattered over the big territory already referred to between Wisconsin and the Pacific, its books furnish as fair an index as can be found anywhere, not only of the existing state of business in the concrete, but of the popular feeling as well.

BANK DEPOSITS AND LOANS AT CLOSE OF BUSINESS, AUGUST 10 AND DECEMBER 1, 1911

Deposits of Banks in	August 10.	December 1.	Increase.	Decrease.
Minnesota	$4,044,218.42	$4,814,442.61	$770,224.19	
North Dakota	1,205,165.98	3,293,679.05	2,088 513.07	
South Dakota	577,058.29	566,674.07		$10,384.22
Montana	474,720.03	843,680.93	368,960.90	
Elsewhere in Northwest	2,229,854.43	2,378,433.39	148,578.96	
	$8,531,017.15	$11,896,910.05	$3,376,277.12	
			10,384.22	
			$3,365,892.90	

Loans to Banks in	August 10.	December 1.	Increase.	Decrease.
Minnesota	$387,142.85	$235,840.97		$151,301.88
North Dakota	1,288,277.25	237,426.47		1,050,850.78
South Dakota	181,895.07	90,888.09		91,006.98
Montana	127,131.33	43,000.00		84,131.33
Elsewhere in Northwest	27,000.00	22,500.00		4,500.00
	$2,011,446.50	$629,655.53		$1,381,790.97

"So, you see," remarked Mr. Decker, "only South Dakota, of all this great area, makes a poor showing for the last season. If she had had a first-rate year, she would have stood well up in comparison with her sister States; and, even as it was, you will observe that in four months she reduced her loans more than fifty per cent. Though her deposits had decreased by $10,384 while the deposits of her neighbor States were increasing, the reduction of her loan account is pretty fine, with all she has had to contend against.

"Yes, conditions in the Northwest generally are very satisfactory—indeed, practically normal. Our short crop in 1910 proved to be a blessing in disguise, for it set every one to economizing, and there is very little speculation of any sort in evidence. Land values are already substantial and steadily increasing, and this year's crop, while rather spotted, is, as a whole, very fair, with prices high. South Dakota's wheat crop fell considerably short, but her diversified interests are enabling her to take care of her obligations in a most satisfactory manner."

"But the new ventures hereabout are rather few," I suggested.

"True," answered Mr. Decker. "There is not much branching out into new lines of business, and probably will not be till after the political atmosphere is cleared. In the meantime, however, business men are looking forward to a fair business next year. We have had a great amount of rain all over the Northwest since August; the ground is full of frost, which always speaks well for the next year's crop. The frost in this part of the country always comes out of the ground by degrees, beginning at the top; so that often in North Dakota there is moisture from frost until well into June, which keeps the roots of the plant in excellent condition. Altogether, we feel that we have no reason to complain, and are going ahead in the usual way, with plenty of courage."

"Mr. Hill referred to some efforts the business men of this section are making to induce the farmers to diversify their crops. Are you interested in this movement?"

"Oh, yes; all of us are. The trouble heretofore has been that most of our farmers have grown up in the traditional local disbelief in the possibility of raising more than two or three things in our climate, wheat naturally leading the short list. Hence, whenever we have a bad drought or any other adverse visitation, the whole region affected finds itself in trouble because it has so few resources. It took a lot of hard knocks to drive the one-crop idea out of the minds of the farmers in Iowa and southern Minnesota; but for a good many years now they have been free of it, and their turn to diversified farming has so raised their fortunes that the farmers of the whole section ought to be stimulated to follow suit."

"Is your method of educating them the establishment of experimental farms?"

"Demonstration farms, rather; the experimental stage was passed long ago. We

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know what can be done; and what we propose now is to prove to Farmer A, by inviting him to look over the fence into Farmer B's farm, that land which is only bringing a net average income of twenty-five dollars an acre, year in and year out, might just as well yield him fifty."

On my expressing a desire to know more in detail how such an enterprise was started and carried along in a State, for example, like North Dakota, Mr. Decker referred me to Mr. A. R. Rogers, President of the Rogers Lumber Company, of Minneapolis, who has been its most active promoter, adding: "He is more familiar with this work than any one else, and everything that he says you can depend upon as correct."

"As you doubtless know," said Mr. Rogers, "North Dakota suffered during the years 1910 and 1911 a very serious reduction in its crop yield, due to many different causes. During the summer just past, when conditions began to look worst, I took up with some of our railway companies which do business in that State the question of inducing the farmers to adopt better methods. They agreed to help, and we brought the matter to the attention of a few of our business men here, foremost among them Mr. P. L. Howe, and talked it over. As Mr. Howe and I realized the expediency of making our project local to the region interested, we enlisted the support of the most prominent bankers in North Dakota, and, after several conferences, organized a corporation called the North Dakota Hundred-Dollar-An-Acre Association, believing this name significant of our purpose to make the farming land of the State earn a fair return on a valuation of one hundred dollars an acre. We have since changed our title to the Better Farming Association of North Dakota, in order to dispel any impression which might get abroad that we were engaged in a land-booming or speculative scheme. Mark you, the instigators of this movement make no claim to philanthropic motives beyond their belief that, when the farmer of North Dakota prospers, all the business interests of North Dakota prosper, because successful farming is at the foundation of everything there."

"How have you financed your operations?" I inquired.

"By private and corporate contributions to a propagation fund," answered Mr. Rogers. "We solicited money first from the business interests of Minneapolis and St. Paul and from three large railway companies. We were presently able to lay before the business men of North Dakota a proposal that, if they would contribute one-half the expenses of the work to be undertaken, we of the Twin Cities who are commercially interested in their State would contribute the other half. We have now a sufficient amount subscribed to warrant us in assuming our share of the contract. We have engaged as general supervisor Mr. Thomas P. Cooper, formerly in charge of farm demonstration work for the Minnesota Agricultural College. The State has been divided, for administrative purposes, into districts, the plan being to put into each one of these districts a local supervisor skilled in scientific as well as practical farming. Contracts will be made with a number of individual farmers, each agreeing, in consideration of the actual supervision we furnish him, to farm a unit of land, say five or ten acres, in accordance with the directions of the supervisor. These contracts will be drawn to cover a period of five years, so as to give the Association an opportunity to plan a five-year-rotation system. In addition to the units, we expect to have one of the better farmers here and there operate his entire farm under our direction. The Association is to select the seed—not purchase it—and teach the farmer how to cultivate each crop and also the scientific order of rotation."

"Won't so large a project as this soon overrun the limits mapped out for any single supervisor?"

"We have provided for that. When the supervisor of any district finds that he has more work than he can attend to personally, it is our intention to employ local farmers who have been successful, and are familiar with good farming, to work under his direction and supervise still more farms or units, all these farmers reporting to Mr. Cooper.

"As North Dakota is primarily a small-grain and wheat State, it is not the design of this association to shift it to any other major crop; but we believe that, in order to raise more wheat, it is necessary to raise live stock and corn and the different leguminous crops as well as to practice a systematic plan of rotation. We believe also that by this arrangement the farmer will derive a double benefit, being able not only to raise more wheat but meanwhile to pay his expenses from other crops which will give him a large

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yield per acre. Our plan was submitted to Dean Woods, of the Agricultural College of Minnesota. Dr. Galloway, of Washington, has also examined it; so have President Worst, of the Agricultural College of North Dakota, Mr. James J. Hill, Mr. Howard Elliott, and Professor Shaw, of the Great Northern Railway land department; and all these gentlemen approve it."

"I suppose you realize that you are giving a backset to what has become almost a popular mania of the day, by doing as a private enterprise what so many persons are clamoring to have the Government undertake as a public charge?"

"It is the purpose of the Association to keep its activities wholly outside of the domain of politics. We hope to work in harmony and sympathy with the State Agricultural College and the Department of Agriculture at Washington, but preserve the identity of the Association as a business organization. The financing by the Twin City people has thus far been done on a three-year basis—that is, the subscribers have pledged their support for a period of three years, in order to give the project a fair start and trial.

"I can guess what you are going to ask next: you will want to know what has been done up to date. Well, you understand that the work is in its infancy. We have engaged our supervisor and practically secured the services of eight or ten assistant supervisors. Some six counties also have pledged their proportion of the expense, and we expect, within the next thirty days, to have as many more pledged as we can furnish supervisors for. At the rate at which the work is developing we are now hoping that, in addition to the supervision of farm work, we shall be able to procure skilled helpers to assist in the selection of live stock, and, in districts where dairying can be carried on profitably, instructors in the modern and most efficient methods of dairy work. Our representatives are now holding meetings in various parts of North Dakota to get the people interested, and I have no doubt that there will be enough enthusiasm stirred up to enable us, as soon as we can command all the money and men we need, to cover most of the agricultural area of the State. This is going to require a large sum of money, and how far we can finance it is of course a question which no one can answer positively at this time. A great deal will depend on how heartily the people who are to be benefited will join in the support of our work."

THE MYSTERY OF FEAR

BY H. ADDINGTON BRUCE

I HAVE no intention of describing here the ordinary, familiar phenomena of fear. These, in both their psychological and physiological manifestations, will be found adequately treated in any good text-book on the emotions. What I wish to do, rather, is to call attention to some little-known facts which find scant mention in the text-books for the excellent reason that it is only within the past few years that they have been made part of organized knowledge. Yet they are facts of the utmost significance from both a theoretical and a practical point of view; and, indeed, an understanding of them is of no less importance to the layman than to the scientist. Their discovery has made possible for the first time what may be called an applied psychology of fear—that is to say, a statement of principles the application of which will go far towards solving the problem of how to avert the evil consequences of fear without the loss of its really beneficial qualities.

That there is a certain virtue in fear requires no scientific demonstration. Fear, as everybody ought to be aware, is intrinsically one of the most useful of the emotions. It is an instinct implanted in us as an aid in the struggle for existence. Doubtless for this reason it is, as compared with the other emotions, the earliest to make its appearance in the new-born child. Preyer, whose book "The Mind of the Child" is not nearly so well known in this country as it should be, puts the first manifestation of fear in an infant at the twenty-third day after birth. Other observers, including Charles Darwin, have found no indications of it until somewhat later than this. But all agree that it is the first emotion, properly so called, to show

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itself, and that its normal function is to instill caution and prudence in relation to objects and actions that might have destructive effects.

The trouble is that fear has a great tendency to function to excess, especially in the years of childhood, that formative period which means so much to future development. There is scarcely one of us who, looking back, cannot recall some youthful fear, abnormal in its intensity. Nor are such abnormal fears confined to the young. With many people they persist in one form or another throughout life; it may be as fear of thunder, fear of mice, fear of snakes. And, moreover, they sometimes do not appear with full force until the period of youth is long past. At the age of thirty or forty—at any age—there may develop, with irresistible power, and seemingly for no reason, a paralyzing, appalling fear of doing some trivial, every-day act, or of coming into contact with some familiar and entirely harmless object. When fear becomes as extreme as this it amounts to a veritable disease, and is recognized as such by the medical profession, being technically known as a *phobia*. It is through scientific study of these phobias, as recently carried out by medical specialists with a psychological training, that full realization has been gained of the tremendous rôle played by fear in the life of man, and the need for its proper control and direction.

The commonest of the phobias, curiously enough, are direct opposites of one another—namely, fear of open places (agoraphobia) and fear of being in a closed space (claustrophobia). The victim of agoraphobia can with difficulty be persuaded to trust himself outdoors. He fears that if he does so some catastrophe will overwhelm him. His state of mind is one of absolute panic, and when obliged to cross any open space, such as a public park, he displays all the symptoms of extreme fear. The person troubled with abnormal fear of closed places experiences no difficulty of this sort. He is, on the contrary, never so happy as when in the open. His troubles begin when he is asked to take, say, a drive in a cab or a journey in a railway car. He dare not attend the theater, nor any indoor public entertainment. Whence comes his aversion for closed places he cannot say. He only knows that the mere thought of being in any place from which he cannot escape at a moment's notice fills him with a torturing dread.

In accounting for phobias like these psychologists have, as a usual thing, fallen back on pure theory, and—especially when strongly influenced by the evolutionary doctrine—have been wont to attribute them to the emergence of ancestral traits and instincts once of real biological value. But recent investigation has made it certain that this ancestral revival theory is both superfluous and erroneous, and tends to hinder rather than help an understanding of the mechanism and consequences of fear. For one thing, there is the fact that agoraphobia and claustrophobia are not the only irrational fears. There may, in fact, be a phobia for any conceivable act or object, and to explain all these in terms of the revival of ancestral instincts is surely beyond the power of the most vivid scientific imagination. Further than this, so far as abnormal fear of open or closed spaces is concerned, the researches of the medical specialists to whom reference was made above have rendered possible a satisfactory explanation—and an explanation that has much value—without harking back to the feelings and doings of primitive man.

It has been found in every case scientifically studied that there is, to be sure, a memory revival of past experiences, but that it is invariably a revival of experiences in the life of the victim himself, not of his anthropoid ancestors. This is true of every kind of phobia. The sufferer may honestly declare his inability to recall any antecedent happening of a fear-inducing character. But it is found that, subconsciously at any rate, he always carries with him a vivid memory image of some occurrence that at the time shocked him greatly; and that his phobia is due to the ceaseless presentation in his subconsciousness of this vivid memory image. In proof of which may be cited the experience of any medical man accustomed, in treating patients for nervous and mental troubles, to make use of modern methods—hypnotism, hypnoidization, and so forth—for exploring the obscurer workings of the human mind.

Take, by way of illustration, a case of abnormal fear of open places successfully treated by Dr. Isador H. Coriat, a Boston neurologist of my acquaintance. The patient was a young man who for nearly two years had been tormented by an irrational fear of fields, parks, and public squares. His relatives and friends had argued with him, he had tried to conquer the phobia by force of will, but all to no purpose. Nor could he give any reason for his abnormal dread.

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Put into the hypnotic state, however, and questioned again, he recalled an incident that at once revealed its source. Two years previously, it appeared, he had been taking a horseback ride, when he unexpectedly galloped into an open field.

"I became terribly frightened," said he, "as the ground was rough, and I thought I should certainly fall off the horse. I felt faint, my heart beat rapidly, I broke into a cold perspiration and trembled all over. It seemed as if the end of the world was coming. Since then, whenever I see a field or a park I am reminded of this, and feel the same agonizing fear."

That the fright in the field was actually responsible for his agoraphobia was proved by the fact that as soon as Dr. Coriat, by "suggestion," had succeeded in banishing the memory of it from his subconsciousness his fear of open places came to an end.

In the case of another patient suffering from fear of closed spaces the abnormal fear was traced to an occasion when, visiting a friend in a small, close room, the patient had a fainting attack. In a third patient, a young woman, there developed a fear of crowds because, some time previously, at a crowded school celebration, she had been slightly overcome by heat, and had "felt like screaming." Another young woman was afflicted with pyrophobia, or fear of fire, in such an extreme form that she could not remain in a room where an open fire was burning, and every night made the rounds of her house to make sure there was nothing that could start a conflagration. Investigation showed that all this morbid anxiety was due to a previous experience with fire.

Sometimes memory of the antecedent causal experience is not entirely blotted out of the upper consciousness. The sufferer may even entertain a clear recollection of it and still be unable to conquer his phobia; which, however, under these circumstances is as a rule not nearly so severe as when the process is wholly one of subconscious mentation. Of course, in either case the problem of the development of the phobia still requires explanation. Only partial enlightenment is gained, after all, when we recognize the causal action of some specific occurrence, such as a fall, a fainting-fit, or the sight of a fire. Thousands of persons experience these things without thereby becoming victims of a phobia. When a phobia does result, some exceptional circumstances must be operative, and it is manifestly desirable to learn, if possible, what these are.

It is the more desirable since, as investigation is daily revealing more and more clearly, phobias are not the only malady originating from a fear-occasioning event. Where one man, as the result of a sudden fright, may in course of time become a phobiac, another may develop symptoms, not of mental trouble, but of bodily disease. A most instructive instance is afforded by the experiences of a young Russian immigrant in this country who had the good fortune to come under the observation of two of America's foremost specialists in the treatment of mentally caused disorders.

The trouble for which this young man sought relief was, to all outward appearance, purely physical. It consisted of periodic convulsive attacks that racked the right half of his body, and had led to a diagnosis of epilepsy. Since sundry delicate symptoms characteristic of epilepsy were absent, however, the specialists, after a careful study of the case, came to the conclusion that the spasms from which he suffered might involve no true organic disease and might be nothing more than the outward manifestation of some deep-seated psychical disturbance. With this possibility in mind they questioned their patient, both in the normal waking state and in hypnosis, and brought to light some interesting facts.

The first attack, he told them, had set in five years before, when he was sixteen years old and living in Russia. After returning from a dance one evening, he went back to look for a ring lost by the young lady whom he had escorted home. It was past midnight, and his way lay over a lonely road by a cemetery. Nearing this cemetery, he thought he heard somebody or something running after him. He turned to flee, fell, and lost consciousness. He was still unconscious when found on the road. After he had been brought to, it was seen that he was afflicted with a spasmodic, uncontrollable shaking of the right side, involving his arm, leg, and head. This lasted almost a week, when he seemed as well as ever. But every year thereafter, at about the same time, he had had an attack similar in all respects to this first one, excepting only that he did not become unconscious.

He further declared, while in the hypnotic state, that throughout the period of the attacks he had unpleasant dreams, all relating

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to the fright and fall of five years before. In these dreams he lived over and over again the experience from which his trouble dated.

"I find myself," said he, "on the lonely road in my little native town. I am hurrying along the road near the cemetery. It is very dark. I imagine somebody is running after me. I become frightened, call for help, and fall. Then I wake up with a start, and remember nothing about the dream. I no longer am afraid, but I have these terrible spasms."

It was even found possible to produce the convulsive attacks experimentally by reminding him, while hypnotized, of the incident on the road. To his physicians it now seemed certain that his malady was due to nothing else than the persistence of an intensely vivid subconscious memory image of the fright he had experienced; and that he would no longer be troubled by it if the memory image were destroyed by psychotherapeutic treatment. Suggestions to this effect were accordingly given him, when awake as well as when hypnotized. The outcome was all that could be desired, for a speedy and permanent cure was brought about.

Paralyses, muscular contractures, symptoms mimicking tuberculosis, kidney disease, and other dread organic maladies, are also recognized to-day as possible after effects, through the power of subconscious mental action, of happenings that give rise to a profound feeling of fear. Sometimes more than one symptom is thus occasioned in the same patient. Again, for the purpose of concrete illustration, I cite a typical case from real life—the case of a Pole, a man of twenty-five, treated for a weird combination of mental and physical disturbances.

Physically, he suffered from severe and frequent attacks of headache, setting in gradually, and preceded by a feeling of depression and dizziness. During the attacks his body became cold, his head throbbed violently, he shivered incessantly. To keep warm, he was obliged to wrap himself in many blankets. Mentally, he was tormented by a number of phobias. He was afraid of closed places, and still more afraid of being obliged to remain alone, especially at night. He had a morbid fear of the dead, and would on no account enter a room with a corpse in it or attend a funeral. Nothing could induce him to visit a cemetery, even in company with other people. Fear of dogs was also a conspicuous feature of his case, as was fear of fire.

Through psychological exploration of his subconsciousness, every one of these symptoms was traced to actual experiences that had given him great emotional shocks, and in almost every instance to experiences that had occurred in his early childhood. The fear of dogs had its origin in an exciting episode he had had with some dogs when he was only three. The pyrophobia was connected with the fact that at four years of age he had been hastily carried from a burning house, shivering with fright and cold, into the open air of a frosty night. His dread of cemeteries and of the dead was rooted in a subconscous recollection of terrors inspired in him, as a child, by hearing "all kinds of ghost stories and tales of wandering lost souls and of spirits of dead people hovering about churchyards." In addition to this, his mother, a very superstitious woman, when he was nine, placed the cold hand of a corpse on his naked chest as a "cure" for some trifling ailment. Hence his special fear of corpses. As to the headaches and the sensations of cold, they were the result partly of this "dead hand" memory and partly of the memory of a still more severe experience, occurring at about the same time, when he was forced to spend an entire night in a barn in midwinter to escape a party of drunken soldiers who had beaten his father unmercifully and had killed one of his little brothers. His fear of closed spaces and his fear of being alone were associated with the same experience.

As he grew older much of all this faded from his conscious recollection. But, by analyzing his dreams and questioning him in hypnosis, it was found that subconsciously he had forgotten none of it. Evidence also was forthcoming indicating that from time to time, owing to the occurrence of later experiences of a less sinister nature, there had been exceptionally vivid revivals of the earlier memories; and that it was in this way that they had been able to acquire such tremendous disease-producing power.

Here, I am confident, we have the answer to the question raised in connection with the development of phobias in adult life from seemingly trivial occurrences. Heredity, no doubt, plays some part. But assuredly a far greater influence is exercised by the presence of baneful memory images that needs only an appropriate stimulus to excite them into

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pernicious activity. The mechanism of fear-caused diseases, to put it briefly, is probably much the same as that operating in the production of the familiar phenomenon of dreaming. When we dream of anything, we do so because an incident of the waking life has, through association of ideas, roused some dormant emotional complex, some group of subconscious ideas, and our dream is a symbolic expression of this dormant complex. So is it with the man who suffers from a fear-induced malady, whether it take the form of a mental or of a physical disorder.

Perhaps of a neurotic tendency by inheritance, perhaps of a good heredity but temporarily weakened by grief, worry, overwork, something occurs that gives this person a sudden fright, and, by association of ideas, reminds him, if only subconsciously, of earlier fear-inspiring episodes in his life. Ordinarily there would be no unpleasant after effect, except possibly a few nights of bad dreams. But in his condition dreaming is not sufficient to give vent to the subconscious emotions. Some other channel of discharge must be found, and it is found in the production of disease symptoms—whether mental or physical or both mental and physical—symbolizing the emotional complex or complexes stimulated by the happening that frightened him.

Indeed, there is reason for suspecting that all functional nervous and mental troubles, no matter what their immediate cause, are traceable to fear memories of remote occurrence, dating usually from the days of childhood. If this be the case—and I, for one, believe that it is—we have here a fact of the greatest importance to all who have anything to do with the upbringing of the young. If the fears of childhood can persist throughout life and can affect adult development so profoundly as to be causal agents in the production of disease, it is obvious that parents and educators should adopt every means in their power to prevent the growth of unreasonable fears in the little ones in their care. Yet, as matters are to-day, and not least in the home, most children are subject to influences that tend to foster, not inhibit, such fears.

In their presence parents discuss accidents, crimes, sensational doings of all sorts; they betray a fretfulness, an anxiety, an unrest, that cannot but react on the sensitive mind of the child, filling it with fears of it knows not what; they even utilize the fear impulse as a means of coercing the child into good behavior; and, what is perhaps worst of all, many parents intrust their children to ignorant and superstitious nurses, who take a morbid pleasure in "scaring them half to death" with tales of demons, ghosts, and goblins.

Fortunately, the majority of people, as a result of later training and experience, or by the deliberate exercise of will power, are able to suppress the fears of childhood; but often only at the cost of great mental torture. By a curious coincidence, it was less than a week ago that I received from a Detroit business man, Mr. John J. Mitchell, a statement that may well be quoted in this connection. He wrote:

"As a child, as far back as memory goes, I was 'afraid of the dark,' intensely afraid. . . . At about eleven years of age I got a place in a country store, and perhaps two years later changed to the largest store in town. This concern did a large, old-fashioned country business, buying produce and selling all manner of merchandise in exchange or on credit. This involved the use of two old-time buildings (frame) with three stories each and a cellar under all. Owing to the character of the business and location, there were doors opening to the street and area on each side and rear from every floor, including the cellar, seven or eight in all, and widely apart, besides windows. It was my duty at dusk to see that all these doors were properly closed and barred for the night. . . . With my childish fear of the dark this daily task was an ordeal—at times a terrible ordeal.

"I never made complaint or confided my fears to a soul. But for some reason, the source of which was, and is, as obscure as my intangible fears, I resolved to cure myself of this terror. . . . My plan, adopted and unflinchingly carried out, was to compel myself—a slender, timid little kid—to go that round daily, in the shadowy dusk, without a light (which I was privileged to have, a lantern). I can only remember now the *pain* of dread and unreasoning apprehension, and the resolution to 'have it over and done with.'

"I cannot now fix the time when it was accomplished, but in the end I was completely cured, so that, at least since my majority, I have not only been relieved of this dread, but I often welcome the folds of darkness (of night), as if wrapped about with a comforting garment. It will be a certain

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qualification to state that, at very long intervals, and always after some physical or mental strain, as an echo of my childhood experience, I feel momentarily a fear of return of old impressions in ' uncanny ' surroundings."

And, beyond any question, no matter how effectually one may suppress such youthful fears, so far as relates to their survival in the upper consciousness, there will always be a subconscious remnant, a buried complex, ready to emerge at a moment's notice and work mischief in one way or another. There is a world of truth in Angelo Mosso's emphatic declaration: " Every ugly thing told to the child, every shock, every fright, will remain like minute splinters in the flesh, to torture him all his life long."

If not in such an extreme form as a phobia, or other functional disease, the early fears will nevertheless make their presence felt in later life. In some men they may engender lack of self-confidence, and even a despicable cowardice; in others they may breed superstitious terrors and usages. Always, in some way, one may depend on it, they will affect the intellect, the character, the whole mental and moral make-up.

Nor will their influence be confined to the individual. Fear, as every psychologist knows, is one of the most contagious of the emotions. Socially, as well as individually, it has a useful function to perform. The presence in all civilized communities of police and fire departments, boards of health, and the like, testifies impressively to the influence of social fear working normally as a conserving agent. But there may be, and frequently is, social as well as individual abnormality of fear; as in panics, massacres, lynchings. In order to deal with this effectually, in order to keep social fear within the bounds of reason, it will always be necessary to recognize that, after all, society is made up of a mass of individuals, and can only think and feel and act as individuals think and feel and act.

THE UNEMOTIONAL MR. BEGGS

BY FREDERICK FERDINAND MOORE

THE Night Editor was smoking his corn-cob pipe and wondering what space he would allow Reciprocity, and where he could use to best advantage the cuts that went with the story of the ball to be given that evening by Mrs. Worthington Summerhill.

" Like as not they will raise hob in Mexico, and we won't get it until the first edition is made up, and then we'll have to slaughter old Professor Martin and he'll raise a howl. I wish the revolutionists would fight their battles in the morning and give the correspondents time to get to the wire and write their stuff—and Beggs is late."

Of course the Night Editor had no intention of murdering Professor Martin or anybody else in the office of the San Francisco " Graphic," but meant that he would have to throw away much of the type of Professor Martin's article on ship subsidy to make room for battles in Mexico. The Night Editor had to put the " Graphic " together, and battles and other things which mean news have most disconcerting way of happening just when newspapers are going to press, which is bad for the nerves of night editors and puts strains on their vocabularies.

It was then that Beggs came in—just after the Night Editor had made his pessimistic remark to the bust of the Great Journalist on the top of his desk. Beggs looked at the clock with the furtive glance of a fugitive as he started to remove his coat. It was four minutes after six.

" By golly, I'm late!" said Beggs, hanging his hat and coat on the framed " A B C of Journalism " which had been rescued from the old office the morning of the earthquake and fire, along with a pair of broken scissors and a steel engraving of Thomas Jefferson.

Beggs was a veteran of the " Graphic " office. He and the Night Editor had begun their apprenticeships at the type cases of that newspaper when it was owned by a pioneer, who bought it to make himself Governor—and it did.

The eight men known impersonally and collectively as the Copy Desk were idling in their chairs and settling most of the problems of the world in an informal council while waiting for Beggs to direct their efforts of

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keeping split infinitives out of the paper and writing headlines. As head of the desk it was his duty to give them the stories written by the reporters and the telegraphic news as it came in over the wires from all the world. He had trained them and made specialists of them, until he had built up a Cabinet, with himself as Prime Minister. One handled all the war news and knew the names of generals and towns and became quite a strategist; another read all society items and all criminal news. Beggs showed a keen sense of humor by giving one man elopements and divorces, and in such sharp contrasts gave the copy-readers variety.

But Beggs was late, and, as he had never been late before, the whole office surveyed him with surprise as he nervously put on his green eyeshade and turned back his cuffs before putting on his cambric sleeve protectors.

The Night Editor made no reply when Beggs remarked that he was late, but spat scornfully into his waste-basket and walked out to the composing-room.

"That old gink Beggs is getting into his second childhood," the Night Editor told the foreman.

"How's that?"

"Five minutes late. Hope he hasn't gone back to the drink. I never could understand why Miss Ackerman married him, knowing how strong he was for the booze. It will be the same as B. F. with him before long, I suppose."

Now B. F. in San Francisco means "Before the Fire" and is sacred history. It was on the first night of the fire that Beggs proposed to Miss Ackerman, who had been society editor for years on the "Graphic," and seemed satisfied with her spinsterhood until Beggs found a tiny girl in the ruins, and, needing some one to mother her, married Miss Ackerman ten minutes after he proposed in Golden Gate Park. An army chaplain performed the ceremony in a tent, waiving the necessity for a license, owing to the fact that the City Hall was a pile of ruins and the whole city burning.

As Beggs was well in the forties and scorned all women, being devoid of sentiment and emotion, his marriage had been quite as much a shock to those who knew him as had the earthquake. But in those days queer things were done, and, as the world whole seemed to have gone awry in an instant, the staff of the "Graphic" accepted the marriage of Beggs and Miss Ackerman as one of the thousand and one unbelievable things which had happened in the time of the catastrophe.

Besides getting married Beggs had stopped drinking, which for years had been regarded as an impossibility and beyond belief. In all the twenty-five years he had been on the "Graphic" no one had ever seen him drunk, but, as the Night Editor said with cutting sarcasm—and he was famous for his double-edged editorial paragraphs—no one had ever seen him sober.

So for four years he had kept his pledge to Miss Ackerman—she never had been called Mrs. Beggs even by Beggs—and had never returned to his Prime Rye. But the slightest break in the routine of Beggs was regarded as suspicious, and being five minutes late, an unheard-of thing for Beggs, caused the members of the staff to shake their heads in a most significant manner.

"He smells like the inebriate ward of a hospital," whispered the red-headed office boy to the Night City Editor.

"I don't believe it's that," said the Night City Editor. "Smells more like medicine to me."

Beggs was nervous. His hands trembled as he sorted out the sheets of Mexican war news, and there was a break in his voice when he told Burns to cut it to the bone and hold it for a new lead, as there had been a tip from El Paso that a battle had been fought somewhere and to hold space for it.

Beggs had never been known to get excited. He stood between the world and the half-million readers of the "Graphic" serene as an emperor, and decided how much the readers should know about a certain story, and what details were good for them to know, having in his keeping the morals of the public, and always bearing in mind that the "Graphic" was a newspaper for the home.

The whole office looked on as he mixed the telegraph "flimsy" with the country correspondence, forgot to send in the Wall Street report on time to have the commercial page made up ahead of the Small Ad. pages, and marked stories for two-column type.

Then came the "flash" that Bangor was burning, and Beggs turned to the Night Editor and said, "Big story," and handed the message to the Night Editor.

"How many people in California know where Bangor is?" demanded the Night Editor, which was his way of showing sarcasm for Beggs's sense of news values.

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"Well, it's a first-page story, ain't it?" demanded Beggs, who worshiped grammar in type and mutilated it in conversation. "If you don't know, I can tell you that it is in Maine, and there are a lot of Maine folks in California. You'll find it's a first-page story."

"Unless we get something better," said the Night Editor, which was an obvious statement. He filled his corn-cob pipe and looked at Beggs's back inquiringly, wondering what could make him so talkative.

"Huh!" said Beggs, abashed that he had allowed himself to betray enthusiasm about anything. He was proud of the reputation that he didn't have the emotions of a dog-fish, but as no one had ever studied the emotional qualities of a dogfish, the comparison was imperfect. He had handled the story of Dewey's victory hot off the cable as calmly as if it had been news of a missionary convention, and had been coldly impartial during the controversy over who had discovered the North Pole.

Affairs were humming along in routine style when the Night Editor came out of the composing-room with a wet proof in his hand and wrath in his eye.

"Here!" he said explosively to the Copy Desk, waving the proof. "How did this elopement come to go out with a three head, when I ordered a three-line seven for it?"

"The copy was marked for a Number Three," said a copy-reader.

"Beggs," said the Night Editor, "I ordered a first-page head for this, and it comes out with a Three and nearly got thrown into page 10. Nice mess I'd have been in for the first page, wouldn't I?"

"Did I mark it for a Three?" asked Beggs, weakly.

"Here is the copy." The Night Editor pointed to the hieroglyph Beggs had made with his blue pencil, and he was tried and condemned by his own mark.

"Made a mistake," said Beggs, and went on assorting the pages of flimsy.

The local room stood aghast. Beggs had made a mistake and had no defense. The Copy Desk turned its eyes on Beggs, but he did not look up.

"What the dickens is the matter with you?" demanded the Night Editor. The staff of the "Graphic" hung in stays waiting for the answer.

"Talking to me?" asked Beggs, innocently.

"Yes. What's the matter with you tonight? Don't you feel well? Rheumatism bad again?"

The Night Editor really loved Beggs quite as well as he did disastrous news, and their quarrels were mere pleasantries. But now the Night Editor was serious.

"I'm all right," said Beggs, but everybody knew he was not telling the truth. Something was wrong. You know how the world feels when a President or a King is ill, or the correspondents in Rome begin to give vague hints that the Pope's health is failing. It was much that way in the "Graphic" office, and everybody had been saying for twenty years that Beggs would go out some night like a candle.

Then the telephone bell rang shrilly and commandingly.

"Mr. Beggs on the 'phone," called the girl at the exchange board.

Burns reached for the telephone. Beggs abominated telephones, saying he could not talk to a piece of nickeled machinery. Even when Mrs. Beggs called him up, which was rarely, it was his habit to ask somebody to find out "what the Ackerman girl wanted."

But now he warded off Burns's hand. "I'll answer it myself," he said, and the local room stopped work to have it to say they had seen Beggs use a telephone, and listened, shamelessly, hoping for a clue to his mental perturbation in the message.

"Yes," said Beggs into the transmitter. His glasses fell off and his hand trembled so that he could scarcely keep the receiver at his ear.

"All right," said Beggs. Then came a full minute of listening while Beggs's face became grave.

"Before midnight?" he asked. "That's bad—no, I mean it's good. All right—all right—all right!" and he hung up the receiver.

Old Question Mark, who writes the Answers to Queries, stopped in the midst of his labor of trying to give the history of Babylon in ten lines, and gazed awestruck at the spectacle of Beggs using a telephone.

The Night Editor gazed at his one idol, the plaster bust of a Great Journalist, and wondered what it could all be about. He had never seen Beggs so excited in his life.

The City Editor let the reporter on night police ring vainly. His trained instinct told him that there was a bigger story in the

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"Graphic" office than there could possibly be at police headquarters.

The copy-readers were pretending to work, but were really wondering what was wrong with Beggs with all the power of their eight cerebrums—if people wonder with their cerebrums.

While the local room was in this trance of conjecture and deduction, Beggs looked up from his pile of copy and asked, much as Napoleon might have asked a question at Waterloo:

"What's the best way to get to California and Van Ness?"

"Go over to Market and get a California Street car," said Burns.

"Oh, I know that," snorted Beggs. "Ain't there a quicker way than that?"

"Get right on a Folsom Street car at the door and transfer to the Onondaga car, which runs up Polk, get off at California, and walk up one block," suggested Collins, without stopping his pencil as it ran over the typewritten lines.

"Too long," said Beggs. "Take an hour to go that way."

"Take a Market Street car, transfer to Sutter, get off at Van Ness, and walk over to California," said Dutchy Schmidt.

"Huh!" said Beggs. "With *my* feet?"

"I'll loan you mine," grinned Collins, who was new to the desk and ignorant of the fact that Beggs had been troubled with sore feet for ages. Beggs glared at Collins.

"Oh, never mind," he said, as if weary of seeking help.

"You want to go to Van Ness and California," asked the Night Editor, grasping at a clue and trying to remember what was at California and Van Ness Avenue. Beggs pretended not to hear, and sought for his glasses in the litter of waste at his feet.

"You can take the Old Man's machine," said the Night Editor soothingly, and in a manner that suggested he was offering Beggs half of Alaska. He knew Beggs never had ridden in an automobile but once, and after getting out of the machine swore he never would enter one again. He never suspected that the office chauffeur had been bribed to break speed limits and all but wreck the machine while Beggs was a passenger. It was one of the few good jokes which the "Graphic" office preserved as history, and handed it down the generations of reporters by word of mouth, not daring to put the facts on paper.

Beggs pretended not to hear the offer of the machine, and the Night Editor swung round in his swivel chair, lit his pipe again, and confided to the Great Journalist that he was baffled. He could get information anywhere in the world by giving an order, yet he could not learn what worried Beggs, who was at his elbow. In ten minutes he could have a correspondent on the steps of the White House, in fifteen he could awaken the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and in twenty he could have a report from Constantinople regarding the situation in the Balkans. He mentally told the bland plaster face of the Great Journalist that it was provoking, and, if the Great Journalist could have answered, no doubt he would have agreed, for he and the Night Editor held pretty nearly the same views on many things.

It *was* provoking. There was Beggs, with his pencil poised over the news of the world, giving orders which concerned the making or breaking of nations, with a great secret in the back of his head and the "Graphic" staff, trained at the business of getting secrets, held at bay.

The telephone tinkled again. Beggs dropped his pencil and seized the nickeled pillar. "It's for me," he said, with much decision, and the copy-readers wondered how he could be so sure.

"In half an hour? Certainly—couldn't think of anything else. I'll be there at once. Sorry in one way it couldn't be a couple of hours later, but of course it's best this way, and—what's that? Yes, of course. Thanks."

There was panic in his eyes as he dropped the telephone. He began to pull off his sleeve protectors slowly and put them in the drawer of his desk.

"I've got to go," he said to the Night Editor.

It was like a captain deserting his ship in time of danger. Beggs had the morning "Graphic" in the back of his head then. The history of the world for a day was crystallized in his brain, and in the next three hours the wires and cables would complete their stories which were only half done at that time of night. There were three more hours before press time, and in three hours nations have fallen without warning. Every minute in a newspaper office is pregnant with the greatest story that ever was known, and Beggs was deserting the helm at the critical hour. It could be nothing less than a case of life or death.

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"Anything serious, Beggs?" asked the Night Editor.

"No."

"Family well?"

"Don't talk to me!" snapped Beggs. He took off his glasses and wiped them. His eyes were moist, and he wiped them furtively, pretending that he was rubbing his brow.

"Anything I can do?" asked the Night Editor. The City Editor came over and stood against the copy desk, saying to himself that Carson had acted just like that before the stroke of apoplexy took him off. The red-headed office boy stopped whistling and the staff stared.

Beggs took his hat and coat off the "A B C of Journalism" poster and put them on.

"There is more coming on Reciprocity," he told the Night Editor. "Probably there will be a new lead when Washington interviews that Senator. Bangor is running well, but I am holding it up for late corrections on the list of dead. St. Pete will have six hundred words if that story about the Czar's family is true, and look out for Paris."

"Nothing serious, I hope," said the Night Editor, making one last cast into the mystery as Beggs hobbled towards the door, taking a few steps to test his feet, which had a habit of "going to sleep" while he sat at the desk. He had a theory that all the blood went to his brain while he worked, but the Night Editor said the theory that there was a brain would have to be proved first.

"Say, was that right about the Old Man's machine?" asked Beggs, halting suddenly. "My feet hurt, and I'm in a hurry, or I wouldn't ride in the fool wagon."

"Where you want to go?" demanded the Night Editor.

"Oh, never mind," said Beggs. "I can walk, I reckon."

They wouldn't let him walk, but insisted that he should ride in the automobile of the publisher. They had the chauffeur crank up, and then the staff lifted Beggs into the seat despite his protests.

"Where do you want to go?" they howled at him. "You'll have to tell the driver where you want to go."

"Up California Street," said Beggs, and they were baffled again.

"You go slow and careful, too," cautioned Beggs as the machine turned toward East Street and the lights illumined the bows of the transports tied up at the docks. "I'll send him right back," shouted Beggs, as the machine disappeared.

"Mysterious as a Turk," growled the Night Editor. "What the dickens do you suppose makes the old gorilla so close-mouthed? It might be a secret of the British navy or some kind of war news the way he acts. I believe he has gone plumb crazy."

The City Editor, who shared secrets of state with the telephone girl, did his best to learn who had called Beggs on the telephone, but the girl couldn't tell him.

The Night Editor busied himself with proofs and the problems of making up the paper, which threatened to become chaotic with Beggs gone and a copy-reader pressed into service to take the head of the desk.

The staff studied maps of the city to discover what might be at California Street and Van Ness Avenue, or in that neighborhood, which could interest Beggs or demand his presence. But these strategists, who had solved many a mystery in the news, found themselves balked at every turn, and the "Graphic" felt as if it had been scooped on a big story.

When the automobile honked at the door, the Night Editor led the rush to the street. He hadn't been known to run since the Japanese war.

"Where did he go?" asked the City Editor.

"Hanged if I know. I let him out at Van Ness and California, and he walked up California Street. I think he said something about a hospital, and he stood on the corner and waited until I left."

"Why the dickens didn't you follow him?" demanded the Night Editor. "He's gone looney. Nice lot of idiots we are to let Beggs go crazy and turn him loose that way!" He gave a grunt of disgust and went back to the composing-room.

"You dummy!" said the City Editor to the chauffeur. "That's why we let him have the machine, to find out where he went. We can't get anybody to answer his house telephone."

It was midnight when the telephone on the copy desk rang. Burns seized it, and the whole office listened.

"It's Beggs," whispered Burns. "He wants to know if Reciprocity is all in and if the old lead has been killed—the special lead."

"Tell him to go to the dickens, and ask him if he's coming back," said the Night Editor, with exasperation.

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"Yes; he says he'll be right down," said Burns. "He says we used a cut of Mrs. Jonathan Hilton four years ago, and that we can use it again with the coronation stuff if you want to. She's the feature in the London story."

"Tell the old fossil to come back if he's coming, and not to try to run the 'Graphic' over the telephone."

"The Night Editor wants to know if you are coming back," said Burns, diplomatically.

"He's coming in," said Burns, and hung up the receiver.

"Say where he was?" asked the City Editor.

"No. Said he'd be in by fifteen minutes."

"I don't care if the old fool never comes back," said the Night Editor, which wasn't true, for he came in from the composing-room every minute to see if Beggs had returned.

At sixteen minutes after midnight Beggs came through the door, his face bland but mysterious, and a peculiar twinkle in his eyes. He hung his hat and coat on the "A B C of Journalism" and took out his sleeve protectors, regarding them almost fondly before putting them on.

"How's Bangor?" he asked, and the Copy Desk knew he was trying to be calm. The Night Editor approached him and stood behind him menacingly.

"Never you mind how Bangor is," he said, truculently. "It's burned. But we want you to give an account of yourself. Anything wrong with your head?"

"No. Why?" Beggs simulated astonishment at the question, although he knew he had the office in an uproar.

"Because, you old shark, the 'Graphic' will never make the mail this morning if you don't tell us what's wrong. If you're in trouble, say so; that's all."

The staff began to gravitate toward the copy desk, and Old Question Mark turned in his chair and lost the place in his book which told the day of the week which fell on July 17, 1863.

"What makes you think I'm in trouble?" parried Beggs, fingering his eye shade.

"Because you are," snapped the Night Editor. "What is it?"

Beggs turned to the staff and smiled. "Gentlemen," he began.

"Now we want the truth," said the Night Editor.

"It's a boy!" said Beggs.

"Why the dickens didn't you tell us, you old stone statue?" yelled the Night Editor, while the staff cheered.

"Oh, well," said Beggs, picking up a handful of flimsy, "what's the use of getting excited about it? Looks like that Chicago murder story is going to be late."

LYNCHINGS AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

BY BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

IN view of the controversy with Russia on account of her wrongful treatment of certain classes of American citizens, and in view, further, of the discussion of the subject of international peace, I think it advisable to call the attention of the country to the number of lynchings, mainly of American Negroes, that have taken place in the United States during twelve months. My own belief is that, in the degree that we create a public sentiment that will result in the decrease in the number of lynchings, or, better still, that will blot them out entirely, in the same degree will we have influence in bringing about peace among the nations of the world. I believe that we must have inter-racial peace and good will as the foundation of international peace and good will.

During these twelve months 71 lynchings have taken place in this country. While this is a shockingly large number, it is a decrease when compared with some other years. Out of the 71, fifty-nine were colored, twelve (including one Mexican) white. In 1901 there were 135 cases of lynching; in 1892 there were 255 cases of lynching.

During the past year lynchings have occurred in eighteen States, as follows: Alabama, 2; Arkansas, 4; Florida, 7; Georgia, 21; Kentucky, 8; Louisiana, 4; Missouri, 2; Mississippi, 5; Oklahoma, 6; Tennessee, 2; Texas, 3; West Virginia, 1; Ohio, 1;

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Pennsylvania, 1; Idaho, 1; South Carolina, 1; Maryland, 1.

It is instructive to summarize the causes alleged for these seventy-one lynchings: In fifteen cases, rape or attempted rape, or mere accusation of the crime, was the charge; in one, resistance to officers of the law; in twenty-four, murder or attempt to murder; in one, threats to kill; in one, "abusive language;" in one, "acting suspiciously around the house;" in one, "no special offense charged—said to have been in the depot with several other Negroes;" in two, insulting women; in four cases of white men my lists do not specify the cause; in one, robbery; in one, "murderous assault;" in one, "robbery and killing officers;" in one case (a Mexican boy), stabbing a man who had cursed him; in one, "using insulting language in addressing a lady over the telephone;" in one, "entered a cherry orchard and quarreled with the owner;" in one, wife-beating.

There are lessons to be learned from this record of the year's lynchings. In the first place, it is clear that an evil once begun spreads and increases. The habit of lynching was begun in this country largely as a punishment for rape. It will be noticed, however, that out of seventy-one lynchings only fifteen, or twenty-one per cent, were for rape or attempted rape. Secondly, an examination of the individual cases of colored people charged with crimes that resulted in lynching shows that not a single individual lynched could be classed as an educated person. Again, so far as one can discover, not a single one of these persons was the owner of property or a taxpayer. Then again, in considering lynchings, it is to be borne in mind that, since the individuals have not had a trial, it is known that many innocent persons are lynched.

What can be done to prevent these numerous lynchings? In this regard there is one matter that is worthy of attention. It will be noted that during these twelve months there have been only two lynchings in Alabama. Soon after Governor Emmet O'Neal, the present Governor, took office, a year ago, there was a lynching in Bullock County, Alabama. At once Governor O'Neal took measures to have the sheriff impeached and removed from office. Since that action there has not been a lynching in Alabama. In my opinion, it seems to be clearly proved that wherever there is the right public sentiment in the State, among judges and other State officials, and wherever the daily press is outspokenly against lynchings, in that State few lynchings are likely to occur.

THE SPECTATOR

THE Spectator has often been told by friends in many parts of the world that they knew people who had seen ghosts. But until lately, in Venice, he has never known any one who has personally seen one.

The Spectator is living in a Gothic palace on the Grand Canal. There is a charming chapel in the palace, and Wagner once lived in the palace, and, according to report, wrote "Tristan and Isolde" there, and the spirit of that lovely music seems to linger about the place. At any rate, the Spectator loves the bright and cheerful palace and is happy there. But he has some English friends in Venice, a married couple, who live in a palace on the Grand Canal, but much farther up the Canal than he. The Spectator's gondola paddles on and on to get there. It goes under the Rialto Bridge of Shakespeare's day, and the lights on the Canal get fewer and dimmer, and before he reaches the white marble steps of his friends' palace he has passed nearly all the fine old Gothic structures which have grown for centuries along the soft Italian waters of the most seductive place he knows. He went to see his friends one evening about nine, and upon leaving his gondola walked through a long, half-lighted hall to the stairway of their apartments. He mounted the broad stone steps to their floor, flight by flight, perhaps ten landings, for they were up a hundred steps, as people often are who live in Venetian palaces. A dim light hung on the wall about half-way up, and the Spectator thought it gave rather a spectral and chilly light. When the top of the stairs was reached, he entered a rectangular hall as large as a ball-room, with a white-beamed ceiling and a charming frieze; from this he passed to the drawing-room, large and stately and done in good Italian style, and beyond this room he entered a living-room, perhaps larger than the other, with Egyptian-like furniture and hangings.

His host and hostess were sitting under a shaded lamp, and coffee and cigarettes were

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brought, and the Spectator heard through the half-open windows the swish of the water of the Grand Canal on the well-worn marble steps many feet below. His host and hostess were handsome people, fond of life and society, and widely traveled. They had taken the palace just as the host was leaving for a hunting trip in India, and his wife had used as a bedroom a room beyond and opening out of the living-room in which we sat, a room which also looked out on the Grand Canal. The first night she slept in the room she was awakened, about three o'clock, by a tremendous noise, and the air seemed full of dust, as though some one were pounding on the floor beside the bed, and the little dog which slept by her bed was tearing about the room in a terrified manner. The rooms were so large, and the servants' sleeping quarters so far away, that she remained in bed until the noise stopped, and then slept until morning from exhaustion. When she awoke again, she found the furniture covered with dust and the dog so terrified that she had to carry it out of the room. The ghost (if ghost there were) did not return for some nights, but when it did it was with the same effect. A friend coming to visit her about this time, she had another bed put in her room, and asked the friend to sleep there. In the morning the friend's bed was unoccupied, and she was found in the living-room, whither she had fled about three, she said, when the noise was heard. The Spectator's hostess had by this time become somewhat of a wreck from the continuous strain, and moved her bed to a room beyond the two reception-rooms, using the old bedroom for a dining-room. The hostess has only had one further visit from the ghost, and that was when she opened the door of her room late one night to put a book into the drawing-room, and she saw, enveloped in a blue haze, the figure of a Venetian in old-time dress entering the dining-room. She saw the dining-room door close after him, but there was no noise; so she shut her bedroom door and went to sleep. In the morning the dining-room was again covered with dust.

So the Spectator's hostess went next day to an old Venetian friend, and was told that the owner of the palace in the fifteenth century had murdered his wife and her lover in the room now used for a dining-room, and had done it with sand-bags, and the report was that some time since then the ghost had said that he was doomed to walk the earth only a few years more in expiation of his crime. The lady now in possession will be glad if the ghost has finally gone, for she likes the palace.

And as the Spectator left the palace, followed down the cold marble stairs by a stately servant in gold livery holding a lighted candle, he shook himself together and argued that he did not at all believe in ghosts, but he looked behind every now and then to be sure that the servant was still there, and he wondered about the dog and the dust. And perhaps he breathed a little more freely when he was with a throng of people on the Rialto, and was glad that he lived in the palace where Wagner wrote.

THE NEW BOOKS

Pollyooly. By Edgar Jepson. The Bobbs-Merril Company, Indianapolis. $1.25.

Polly is a little London girl who is thrown on her own resources when she is only twelve years old. She is a most energetic little creature, and she gets possession of her dead aunt's work as housekeeper for two odd single gentlemen who live in chambers in the Temple. How she manages them, brings up her baby brother, and meets difficulties and strange happenings with calmness and gayety, is told with a great deal of fun and clever character-drawing. The story is sure to have a wide reading and to give a great deal of innocent enjoyment.

Fighting Doctor (The). By Helen R. Martin. The Century Company, New York. $1.

A capital title which introduces a capital character. The fighting doctor is a young physician of push, energy, and public spirit who comes to live in a sleepy, ancient Pennsylvania Dutch town and stirs up the natives so that they actually improve their roads and their schools and get a glimpse of what a town ought to be. This sounds a little too instructive, but in point of fact there is an agreeable love story told pleasantly, while the author, as she has often done before, renders the Pennsylvania Dutch way of talking in a most deliciously humorous manner.

Lonesome Land. By R. M. Bower. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.25.

A faithful picture of life in the cow-country, not excessive in sensation, but realistic. The development of a weak and shiftless man into a bad and heartless creature is extremely well wrought out. The story holds the reader's attention well; it is not literature, but it is true to life.

Heart of Us (The). By T. R. Sullivan. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.25.

Mr. Sullivan's work has always had a quality which has made it worth the reading of people who care for good writing. His new story, "The Heart of Us," is a long story, with a very pleasantly sketched Boston background. There

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are genuine old Bostonians—thoroughbreds of the good kind—in the story, and there are actors and young business men who have other thoughts than those which relate to their salaries, their dress, and their visiting lists. There is a little group of delightful women; and the heroine is the kind of New England girl whom Mr. Thayer might have painted. She has a struggle with her conscience—that is to say, she thinks the struggle is her conscience—but she decides in a good, sensible fashion. The story is not exciting, but it is thoroughly well done. It has a leisurely, well-bred air; the portrait-painting is skillful; and there are qualities in the book which justify the reader in taking it leisurely.

Vigilante Days and Ways. By Nathaniel Pitt Langford. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $2.

There are many exciting tales of adventure in the wild days of the West included in this narrative. Mr. Langford tells us of the conquest of the Rocky Mountains, of the way in which the Territories of Montana and Idaho were developed, of the rough and ready fashion in which the pioneers dealt with crime, of mining millionaires and mining tramps, of the old stage-coach and the highway robber, and of many individual men famous in the annals of the Far West either as desperadoes or as pioneers with constructive ideas.

In Desert and Wilderness. By Henryk Sienkiewicz. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.25.

It is a long time since a romance of any magnitude has come from the pen of the great Polish novelist. His latest book is very unlike those extraordinary historical tales of the old days of Polish wars of which "With Fire and Sword" is perhaps the best known. Here he takes two children (one of them a Polish boy, the other a little English girl) through extraordinary and (to speak frankly) impossible experiences in the heart of Africa. The time is that of the Mahdi's siege of Khartum. The children are seized in Egypt at the edge of the desert by orders of a relative of the Mahdi who wants to use them as hostages in order to secure the release by the English of his own family. They are taken to Khartum, see the Mahdi and the horrors which followed the death of Gordon, thence are carried still farther into the interior, and eventually into unexplored depths of the continent. In a crisis which arises the boy shoots and kills his guards and, with two friendly slaves, a dog who loves him, and an elephant which is found starving in a chasm and is fed by the children, journeys for months through regions which would really have been impassable by a well-equipped band of explorers. Of course the children are at last restored to their friends and the heroic and impossible boy grows up and marries the gentle and pretty little girl. If the reader lets his imagination have full swing and does not balk at marvels, he will find the book exciting. It shows a minute knowledge of the political, racial, and fanatical impulses at work at the time in the Sudan. In its detailed incident the plot is worked out with surprising richness and variety of invention. But it is rather a boys' book of adventure gone to seed, so to speak, than a great work of fiction such as undoubtedly were the volumes of Sienkiewicz's Polish historical trilogy.

Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East. By Paul S. Reinsch. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $2.

The background of the revolution in China is well summarized by Professor Reinsch in his latest volume, "Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East: A Review of Conditions in India, China, and Japan." While, in general, Professor Reinsch avoids hard and fast conclusions and political prophecies, the change which China is undergoing at present, he declares, may be expressed by saying that Chinese society is becoming political; hitherto it has lived from generation to generation by custom, with no consciousness of political aims or purposes. As never before, the intellectual and responsible Chinese are now showing a need for the conscious expression of national policy. The question arises whether they equally feel the need of long-headed foresight in the management of their national affairs. Of course the privileged position occupied by Manchu officials has long been irksome to the influential Chinese. The removal of this jealousy, Mr. Reinsch declares, is the first problem to be faced in the question of how far the nationalist enthusiasm—of which we have now seen bloody evidence—can be harmonized with a continuance of Imperial domination. But why, he says, go to the other extreme and say that the problem can be solved only by establishing a republic? Do not those who declare this forget that the masses of the people have not as yet come into political consciousness? "They are simple-minded, easily guided this way or that by their leaders, but also apt to run into sudden frenzies of anger or panic which, when once unloosened, have all the force of an earthquake or typhoon." On the other hand, affirms the author, the intellectual class, composed of men of education and of commercial and industrial importance, is desirous of placing the institutions of the country upon a basis less broad than that of a pure democracy. Whether this be entirely true or not, the independent attitude of those called upon to act in the National Assembly is significant. For, after the fashion of the French Constituent Assembly, this Chinese embryo Parliament has virtually declared itself the sovereign representative of the people! So far, so good. But what China needs most at the present time is the kind of leadership strong enough to batter down outworn and corrupt contrivances, and then, rising superior to them, to pursue an active and positive policy of organizing public life on a

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permanent plane of efficiency. Such leadership, it is argued, in view of the fact that the masses of the people are not ready for a republic, would result in the concentrated responsibility to be found in a constitutional monarchy. Those who say that a republic, as we understand the term, would meet this demand do not, it is affirmed, understand conditions of unreadiness as they exist and as for generations they must exist in China. Hence Professor Reinsch believes that "in the Chinese situation at the present time Burke is rather a safer guide than Rousseau."

Chapters from Modern Psychology. By James Rowland Angell. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.35.

Any who share the present increasing interest in psychology to the extent of desiring a correct and comprehensive account of its main lines, conveyed in plain, non-technical terms, could hardly do better than to read the series of eight lectures given last year at Union College by Professor James Rowland Angell, of the University of Chicago. It describes all provinces of the science—social and racial as well as individual, animal as well as human—and goes into its practical applications in law, medicine, business, education, and industry. Professor Angell correctly reports the disbelief of "the rank and file of scientific psychologists" in the reality of telepathy, and so dismisses it as not proven. More could be said for what has convinced such first-class psychologists as William James and Henry Sidgwick, the latter of whom, an eminently competent and skeptical critic of evidence, declared telepathy to be scientifically as well established as gravitation.

Practical Book of Oriental Rugs (The). By G. Griffin Lewis. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $4.50.

Mr. Lewis's is certainly "a practical rug book." The information given us has been well systematized and tabulated, especially as to indications leading to the identification and place of any rug in its particular geographical class, also indications leading to the discovery of "fake antiques." Incidentally, the book contains some valuable hints concerning the care of rugs. As is fitting, the glossary, bibliography, and index have been made ample.

Negro Explorer at the North Pole (A). By Matthew Henson. The F. A. Stokes Company, New York. $1.25.

It will be remembered that Henson was Mr. Peary's bodyguard and companion, not only in the expedition which reached the North Pole, but in several preceding it. His African descent proved no obstacle to his ability to endure the worst kind of Arctic cold and exposure, and it is evident from this book that he was not only a man of endurance, but one of considerable intelligence and some education, for he tells us of the books he liked and carried with him, and they indicate a sound taste. He tells here the story of the Peary Expedition from the personal point of view, and his narrative is decidedly worth reading as a supplement to the complete and full story which his chief has given to the world. The descriptions and account of the daily happenings are well done.

Napoleon and King Murat. By Albert Espitalier. Translated by J. Lewis May. The John Lane Company, New York. $4.

M. Albert Espitalier's book is of interest to students of Napoleonic times. We here have a work that reflects much historical research. M. Espitalier's style is not too technical, indeed he appeals emphatically to the general reader. He has combined the sober facts of history with a pleasantly vivacious manner in their narration. The work should do something towards making the character of Murat, as well as the character of Napoleon, more discriminatingly appreciated.

Home Life in Norway. By H. K. Daniels. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.75.

Mr. Daniels's volume is a book to be read in connection with Mr. T. B. Willson's "Norway at Home." In such books we see clearly that the Norwegians are yeomen. Unlike the Swedes, they have no aristocracy or nobility. Mr. Daniels has drawn a sharp distinction between the townsman and the countryman. His chapter on children and their education is of special interest.

Redemption of the City (The). By C. Hatch Sears. Griffith & Rowland, Philadelphia. 50c.

In "The Redemption of the City," an up-to-date and valuable addition to the already copious literature of the subject, Mr. Charles Hatch Sears presents with great fullness and force the social problems now challenging the city church. After encouraging statements of the advance already made toward their solution, Mr. Sears clearly draws the line on which greater achievements must be made when the Church shall have adequately recognized urgent needs and bent all its energies to meet them. His collation of statistics, facts, and authorities is ample and impressive. The peculiarly difficult problem of the foreigner is presented in a light which shows that the Church needs him as much as he needs the Church. "The crux of the situation" can be solved, says Mr. Sears, only as social reforms advance together with "the contagion of godliness," effecting individual regeneration through the personal contact of godly lives with the ungodly.

William James. By Émile Boutroux. Translated by Barbara Henderson. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $1.

"William James," a monograph by a distinguished French scholar, Émile Boutroux, is both an appreciative memorial of a rare spirit and an exposition, clear and compact, of his philosophy in its ground principles and its relation to his special work in psychology.

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James's philosophy was distinctively a philosophy of life and its experiences in an ascending series, physical, psychical, and religious. It speaks the language of common life. It is essentially creative reason, working out truth by test in action. It is thus the very opposite of Kant's "Critique" as regards quest of reality through the process of an abstract logic, and is as congenial to the American mind as Kant's is to the German.

Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans. By Franz Cumont. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.

Educated men now regard astrology as a composite of quackery and superstition. Whatever it be now, Dr. Franz Cumont, a distinguished Belgian Academician, in his "Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans" (the American lectures for 1911–12 in the series on the History of Religions), shows that it once did useful service as the handmaid of religion. By generating conceptions of the fixed and eternal order of the universe, and of a divine principle in the soul, it slowly transformed the grossness of paganism and prepared the way for Christianity. Stimulating, as astronomy now does, our emotional nature, astrology at length became the parent of a religious mysticism whose rapt communing with the glorious harmony of the star-lit skies awakened aspirations to an ethical purity and its hope of future blessedness for the purified, such as the devout Christian now feels. This history of a pseudo-science, now relegated by the Copernican revolution to the museum of antiquities, should suggest a wholesome lesson to those who regard the good service done in mediæval times by certain theological doctrines as sufficient reason for trying to perpetuate them in the withering light of modern knowledge.

LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

FILL IT UP

In The Outlook of February 3, Professor Laughlin, of the University of Chicago, talking about "what's the matter with business," says: "If there is a pitfall in a highway, and we mark it with a plain sign by day and hang lanterns in front of it by night, have we not taken every reasonable precaution to keep travelers from running into it? Or must we furnish each traveler with a policeman to prevent his walking into the hole in disregard of all warnings?"

How would it do to fill up the hole, take down the signs, and give the traveler an unobstructed highway?

J. L. CAMPBELL.

El Paso, Texas.

THE LAW'S DELAYS

I have just read your article on "The Law's Delays." In English courts it seldom takes more than ten minutes to impanel a jury, even if both sides use the privilege of challenge. The juries so selected are apparently as trustworthy as ours here. It seems a pity, though, to spoil a good case by coupling it with a bad suggestion. You speak of judges taking the verdict of eleven men when the counsel agree to it. If they believe the eleven are for acquittal, they will probably always agree.

It happens I have twice been the twelfth man and have been able to persuade the others to change their minds. In one case it was the only wrong-headed jury I ever saw; the eleven wished to convict a perfectly innocent man. When we went back into the box, they probably still believed in his guilt, but they could not deny that it had not been proved. In point of fact, the evidence showed that the accused had nothing to do with the death of the man he was said to have killed. The other case was different. A species of highway robbery suddenly became very common. The victims were of a class that had great difficulty in giving straightforward evidence, and in consequence the robbers invariably got off scot free. There was no knowing what it might have led to, when a party of boys out on a spree met two lads in a donkey-cart, and hustled them for pure fun; they caught sight of twenty dollars in the hands of one of them. The boys seized the money and decamped. The evidence was plain enough, but the judge and every one in court, except myself, believed it was manufactured. I insisted on the jury retiring, and pointed out to the eleven that they were sworn to give a verdict on the whole of the evidence, not to those parts only to which the judge had drawn our attention. One of the witnesses had mistaken a question that had been asked him, and his reply had altogether upset the theory of the defense. No notice was taken of the answer, but I insisted that it was part of the evidence, and the jury were obliged to admit that the answer could not have been premeditated, and, if the defense was disproved, the men must be guilty.

Our verdict put an end to the crime that had become so dangerous. I can scarcely suppose that these reminiscences have much interest for you, but they prove that the twelfth man is sometimes of value even in cases where the counsel are quite willing to accept the verdict of the eleven.

There is another kind of the law's delays that

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does vastly more mischief than the loss of time from the routine of the courts. In some communities it is very difficult to obtain justice when the defendant is able to fee a lawyer. If the lawyer sees he has no case, he will have the charge postponed again and again, until the case is dropped. This is neither more nor less than accusing the judges and lawyers of collusion, but how can you blame lawyers for saving their clients in the only possible way, and how can you blame any individual judge for being unwilling to forfeit his chance of re-election by acting differently from all the others and offending all the lawyers? It may seem useless to denounce a wrong when there is little or no hope of ending it, but that is not the spirit that reformers start with. The only possible remedy seems to be denouncing the evil and having the judges appointed for life. This is not in opposition to the recall which some advocate now. It would be quite impossible to stir up public indignation against a judge because he refused to postpone cases for frivolous reasons.

Vienna, Georgia. H. E. BULLOCK.

[With our correspondent we believe that *all* judges should be appointed by the executive power; in the Nation by the President, in the State by the Governor, in the county by the properly constituted authority. The term might be for good behavior, the judge to be removed only on charges properly substantiated. The recall would then be exercised against the executive, not against the judge.—THE EDITORS.]

GRAFT AND THEFT

Following Mr. Leupp's exceedingly interesting "What's the Matter with Business?" interviews, the writer is struck by the omission—or is it an evasion on the part of the interviewed?—of the mention of an internal symptom that is extremely troubling to "business," now that the maxim, "Honesty is the best policy between birds of a feather," is being analyzed by its adherents with "loss of confidence" and by its victims with vigor. That fallacious old scapegoat, politics, is again being made to butt about by "business" as the universal "kill-all," notwithstanding accurate evidence that politics is become a trade and politicians too frequently the pliant tools which have advantaged "business" tremendously. What is the matter with the honor of the politico-business pragmatic coalition? What's the matter with business?

Graft having lost its jocular acceptation as a term, another word will, in large part, answer the question. An ugly word—"theft."

Is "theft" the procuration of the passage of laws of special privilege; is it the purchase of expert legal advice to evade existing statutes successfully; is it misrepresentation, or a lack of representation, as in the case of a studied neglect to designate weight or measure on package goods labels; is it short weights or lengths, inappreciable to the careless but helpless consumer, very appreciable, and varying as profits allure, to manufacturers; is it adulteration, blendings, lying labels, substitutes "just as good," water, manipulation, overvaluation brought about by rigid—now rarely written—rules of concentration—gentlemen's agreements? Is this "theft"? Or is it "business" blinded to everything but the maw of the market?

"Business" may deny the presence of these bacteria in its body. "Business" knows better. So now does the great, patient, purchasing public. Exceptions there are among traders who prove the rules of the game by their square dealing; but the exceptions constantly find themselves developing—without intent—the cancerous system they fight and deplore. The choice between commercial blindness and retirement remains. The fight must be made from the outside. The fight is on. "Business" is disturbed.

Generalizations! Not entirely. Take two symptoms of the malady that revealed themselves to the writer in two conversations. A great manufacturer spoke of one of his agents, a man known throughout the trade as a peculiarly straight business-getter: "He has not," said the manufacturer, "that elasticity that makes a man valuable." What does *elasticity* mean in such connection? The chief credit man of one of the largest distributing houses in the United States said of prevailing conditions: "It's all a gamble! We extend credit without reference to a man's honesty, banking almost solely on his ability. Take Blank, for example," and he named a dealer notoriously untrustworthy, notoriously able. What is the significance of a wail like that? What's the matter with business?

Where men get together they say that business is rotten, and when they say why, "rotten" is more frequently applied to traders than to trade. They know that "business" methods and greed have debilitated its market. They know, too, that "business," no longer blind to its malady, is being compelled to look inward. They trust to the common sense of "business"—and some fasting—to cure "business." They propose to fast themselves: necessity is making them clear-visioned, hard-headed. They are the market. And they consider the disturbance of "business" one of the very most hopeful signs of the times. EX-SALESMAN.

HOW FAR SHOULD A COURT GO IN THE PUBLIC INTEREST?

What should a court do when counsel fails to press what seems the crucial question in his case? And what must be counsel's ethical conception of his duty to his client when he deliberately throws away what might have been his winning point—and that, too, even after a suggestion from the bench? A recent

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decision in the United States in the Supreme Court suggests these queries. Montana has a statute which imposes a license fee upon all persons engaged in the laundry business other than the steam laundry business, with a proviso that it shall not apply to women so engaged where not more than two women are employed. One Quong Wing paid this fee under protest and sued to recover it, alleging that the statute denied him the equal protection of the laws. In due season the case reached the Federal Supreme Court, which, while sustaining the statute as against the objections that it made unconstitutional discriminations between hand and steam laundries and between the sexes, left untouched what appears to be the most serious objection to this legislation.

As Mr. Justice Holmes, speaking for the Court, truly says: "It is impossible not to ask whether it [this statute] is not aimed at the Chinese, which would be a discrimination that the Constitution does not allow." Singularly enough, however, that objection, though suggested by the Court itself during the argument, was, as the Justice says, "not urged, and rather was disclaimed." If counsel for the plaintiff in error really wished to succeed, he must feel somewhat chagrined, and quite at a loss to excuse himself to his humble client, or to his own conscience, when he reads these sentences in Mr. Justice Holmes's opinion: "It rests with counsel to take the proper steps, and if they deliberately omit them we do not feel called upon to institute inquiries on our own account. Laws frequently are enforced which the Court recognizes as possibly or probably invalid if attacked by a different interest or in a different way. Therefore, without prejudice to the question that we have suggested, when it shall be raised, we must conclude that, so far as the present case is concerned, the judgment must be affirmed."

But why should not the Court have considered the question? True, it is not the office or duty of a court to act as counsel for the parties, nor, ordinarily, to consider questions not pressed upon it. But the result suggests a grave doubt as to the wisdom of the application of the general rule to this case. We have here a statute manifestly originating in a race prejudice against the class to which the aggrieved laundryman belongs—for surely Quong Wing is a Chinaman, however skillfully the fact is concealed in the pleadings by calling him "a resident" and "a male person." His suit progresses through the State courts, and to a final judgment in the Nation's highest tribunal—and all this without any consideration given to the Constitutional objection which ordinarily would first suggest itself to any one interested in upsetting the statute! The validity of the statute remains in doubt after litigation extending over a period of more than three years, which was avowedly begun to settle that question. *Interest reipublicæ ut sit finis litium.*

Rochester, New York. W. W. NICHOLS.

A STUDY IN SOCIAL ENGINEERING

Over ten thousand adult alien laborers are being taught English this winter in free night classes. Many of the teachers are earnest, though inexperienced, volunteers; others receive very modest salaries and have some kind of experience in teaching, although perhaps not in teaching the English language, or in teaching foreigners, or in handling adults. There are almost as many tuition plans or programmes as teachers. There are no special text booklets; those used are also used by native tots learning to read in the day schools.

There would be far more of these night classes if the work of the teachers were less trying, less disappointing. Their worries might perhaps be changed to gladness. Success might possibly be the rule instead of the exception.

Could a few experts of standing get together and determine the minimum number of words necessary for the normal life of unskilled laborers? The number of words used by children at various ages has been ascertained; the work of investigation was interesting to those engaged in it and the results are valuable to all.

Could a booklet be published for general use in immigrant classes? It would have to be in very bold, large type, as immigrants are not all expert readers. Probably many of the words used in the primers for native children could be omitted as of no value for adult toilers.

Could little supplementary leaflets be issued, one for each of the various trades the immigrant scholars drift into? Such leaflets to give only those trade terms unskilled laborers need know.

Not so long ago the Bible was studied in Sunday-schools according to the ideas of the individual pastors, superintendents, and even isolated teachers. Now the International Bible Studies are used, planned with profound thought by leading men whose knowledge is at the service of the humblest and youngest teachers in the smallest Bible classes everywhere.

Observations made with great care during twelve years, in all the States of the Union save six, are the foundation of the suggestions submitted. WILLIAM W. BIGLER.

New York City.

A PERSONAL NOTE

May I ask you to insert the following notice in your columns? The order of knighthood conferred upon me by his Majesty, King Edward, was merely a companionship of St. Michael and St. George, and carries absolutely no title whatever with it. I am very anxious to correct the misapprehension which seems to be prevalent in America.

WILFRED T. GRENFELL, M.D.

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BY THE WAY

On the last Sunday in February Coney Island had 75,000 visitors, of whom several scores are reported to have bathed in the surf. The temperature rose to 71° at midday. The winter of 1911-12 may well be remembered for its warm as well as its excessively cold weather.

Finance nowadays is limited by no national boundaries. American newspapers contain advertisements of a "City of Tokyo (Japan) Loan" for the purchase by that city of electric tramways and electric lighting systems. The loan, amounting to about $45,000,000, is apportioned between New York, London, and Paris.

The late Henry Labouchere, though he was an exponent of personal journalism (the "I" appearing everywhere in "Truth" instead of the editorial "we"), was never punctilious about having his "copy" edited by his subordinates. "It has always appeared to me," he said, "that the making of an article requires two persons, one to write it, the other to cut it down—and generally to cut out what the first man most admires."

The principal steel-producing plants of the country are said to be working at present at 90 per cent of their capacity, as against 65 or 70 per cent at this time last year.

A strange psychological phenomenon is disclosed in the case of Sister Candide, a French nun who was recently convicted of swindling Parisian jewelers in order to raise money for charity. She systematically secured jewels of great value and then pawned them, using the money thus raised—over $1,000,000 in all—to carry on various charitable enterprises. She apparently did not realize the gravity of her offense, and sentence was suspended by the court.

The Jungfrau tunnel, which pierces in a semi-vertical direction one of the highest mountains in Switzerland, has been carried up to the site of another station, the Jungfraujoch, 11,400 feet above the sea. It is hoped that the tunnel will be finished in 1914. One of the most magnificent panoramas in the Alps, heretofore seen only by the expert mountain-climber, will then be brought within reach of the average tourist.

Offhand, an invitation to write an epigram about the Men and Religion Forward Movement, interesting and important as that movement is, does not seem calculated to rouse a thrill in the breast of the average epigram-maker. But when it is announced that twenty-five dollars will be paid for the best epigram offered, considerable interest may be expected. Information about this and other prizes of a similar character may be had by addressing 124 East Twenty-eighth Street, New York City.

Telephone communication was recently established between Denver and Boston, a distance of 2,400 miles. This is said to be the greatest distance ever traversed by the human voice.

Motion pictures in color—the Kinetoscope process—showing the recent Durbar in India have been produced in New York City before crowded houses at one of the theaters, the regular scale of prices for seats prevailing instead of the usual "five-ten-fifteen" of the cinematograph exhibitions. Perhaps never before were such costumes seen at a coronation, and certainly never before has such a pictorial reproduction of so gorgeous a pageant been possible.

There are few people outside the maple-sugar making districts, says a writer in the "Country Gentleman," who really know what the genuine article tastes like. The superior flavor thus spoken of is probably due in a degree to the same causes that make strawberries eaten off the vine and cherries consumed on the tree so delectable. The writer quoted, however, puts some of the blame for the poor flavor of commercial maple sugar on the "wily wholesale dealer and mixer."

Germans seem to have a special faculty for managing great steamship lines. Besides those huge corporations the Hamburg-American and the North German Lloyd Companies, there is another of almost equal magnitude, the "Hamburg-Sud," which has just celebrated its fortieth birthday. Beginning with three small steamers of 2,738 tons burden combined, the company now has a fleet of 48 steamers totaling 248,257 tons, with 136 auxiliary craft. In 1909 the company carried 47,594 passengers.

A public school principal of Brooklyn, New York—Mr. Edward Bush—has just retired after continuous service in the schools for more than sixty years, during fifty-six of which he was principal of one school. Has any other teacher a record equal to this?

Of 73,354 stockholders of the Pennsylvania Railroad, almost one-half, 34,712, are women. Of 16,000 stockholders of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford road, 7,200 are women. This proportion is said to be fairly typical of the more conservative railways of the country. In the more speculative stocks women are by no means so largely represented. This fact is probably due as much to the care of men advisers as to the less venturesome spirit of women investors.

On one of the Canadian railways a "train agent" is the official name of the fare-collector. The train agent is said to be notable for his politeness, and to ask for a passenger's ticket with the words, "Your ticket, please," to wait patiently till he gets it, and then invariably to say, "Thank you." The name "train agent" is hardly felicitous for this Chesterfieldian conductor. It sounds too much like "road agent," a name which in the West has not always been associated with agreeable manners or practices.

A traveler writing from Japan to the "Christian Register" says that, after an absence of three years, he saw two noticeable changes: the growing use of European costumes by men, and the increasing number of liquor establishments. Japan, he says, is reaping the gains and paying the penalties of progress. The "noticeable changes" above described are doubtless both meant to be included among the penalties of Japan's new era.

Motor sleighs would seem at first thought to be impracticable on account of the difficulty of propulsion, but European inventors have overcome the difficulty in several ways. One form of motor sleigh is driven by the action of a screw, or worm, which cuts into the snow, and this is said to have attained a speed of thirty miles an hour.

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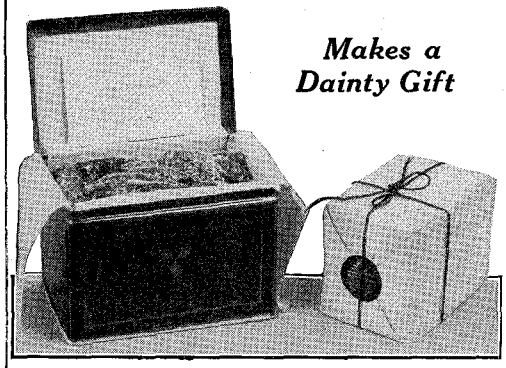

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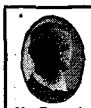
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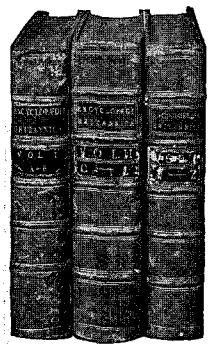

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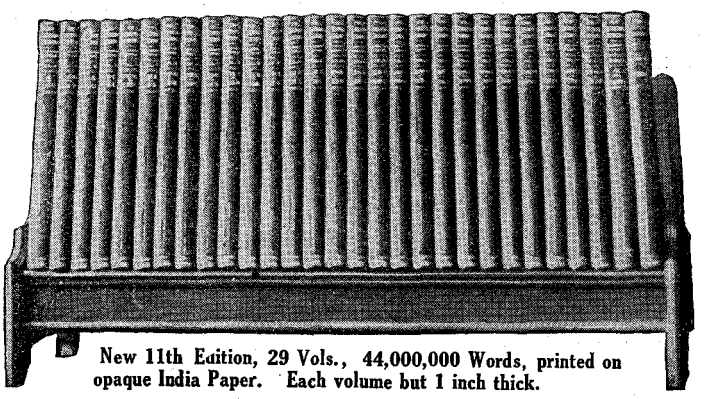

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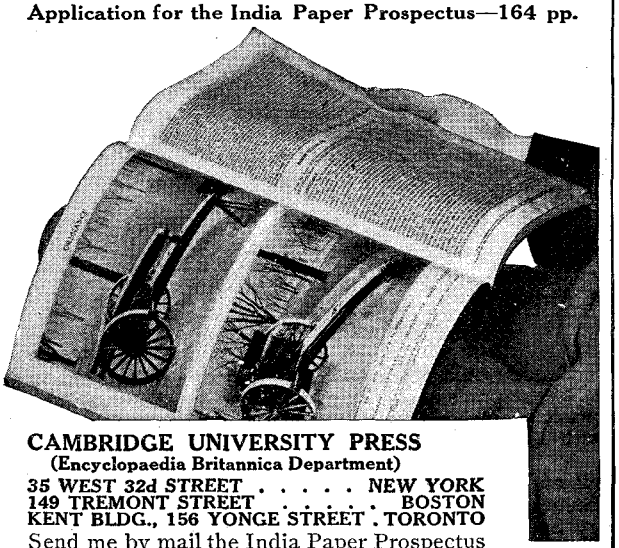

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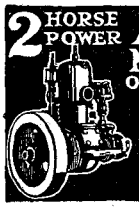

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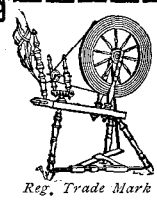
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